REMEMBER
WELLINGTON
GIVES YOU VALUE
FOR MONEY.

The Bombay Chronicle

FOUNDED BY SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA, IN 1913

EVERYTHING
IN
CYCLES, CONSULT
WELLINGTONS
BOMBAY.

VOL. V NO. 36 BOMBAY: THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1917. TWO ANNAS

SHIPPING

P. & O. AND BRITISH INDIA

(Companies Incorporated in England.)

MAIL & PASSENGER SERVICE.

STEAMERS of the P. & O. Co., will be despatched to London at frequent intervals calling at Aden, Port Said and Marseilles.

The BRITISH INDIA Co. will despatch Mail steamers for Karachi, Persian Gulf and East and South African ports at frequent intervals.

Terms and Rates of Freight and Passage for P. and O. and B. I., sailings may be arranged with

MACKINNON, MACKENZIE & Co.,
Nicol Road, Fort, Bombay.

NIPPON YUSEN KAISHA

Japan Mail Steamship Co., Ltd.
(Incorporated in Japan.)

REGULAR SERVICE TO JAPAN, VIA SINGAPORE, HONGKONG AND SHANGHAI.

For Sailings and Freight apply to

T. KAWAGUCHI,
Manager.
Alice Buildings,
Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

OSAKA SHOSEN KAISHA

(Incorporated in Japan.)

HEAD OFFICE.—OSAKA, JAPAN.

Fleet 128 Vessels, Gross Tonnage 819,057.

Steamers will be despatched at regular intervals to Japan via Singapore and Hongkong.

For freight and other particulars regarding sailing, etc., please apply to the undersigned.

M. UCHIYAMA.
Agent.
Sukhadwalla Building,
Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

THE
GREAT AMERICAN REMEDY.
Prof. JAMES'
Electro Tonic Pearls.

These Pills positively cure sleeplessness, failing memory, brain fag, incapacity, disinclination for work, study or business, general debility and all results of overwork and dissipation. In cases of premature old age, involuntary discharges and weariness after slight effort these Pearls effect a wonderful and almost a miraculous cure.

Price: Bottle of 25 Pearls, Rs. 1-4-0.
Price: Bottle of 40 Pearls, Rs. 2-0-0.
V. P. Charges, annas four extra.
SOLE AGENTS:
THE ANGLO-INDIAN DRUG AND CHEMICAL CO.
Market, BOMBAY.

BANKING

NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED.

(Incorporated in the United Kingdom.)

Bankers to the Government in British East Africa and Uganda.

Esplanade Road, BOMBAY.

Subscribed Capital £2,000,000
Paid-up Capital £1,000,000
Reserve Fund £1,250,000

Head Office:
20, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Branches:

Calcutta	Chittagong	Mombassa
Bombay	Rangoon	Nairobi
Madras	Mandalay	Nakuru
Karachi	Colombo	Kisumu
Lahore	Kandy	Jinja
Amritsar	Newera-Elliya	Kampala
Delhi	Aden (Camp)	Entebbe
Cawnpore	Aden (Steamer Point.)	Tanga, East Africa
Tuticorin	Zanzibar	Dar-es-Salam, East Africa
Cochin		

Agents in New York and South America:—
The Anglo-South American Bank, Ltd.
Agents in Mauritius:
Mauritius Commercial Bank:

FIXED DEPOSITS.

The Bank receives Fixed Deposits for One year and shorter periods at rates of interest to be ascertained on application.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened for Approved Customers and interest is allowed at 2 per cent. per annum from Rs. 1,000 up to Rs. 1,00,000 but no interest is allowed when the sum secured does not amount to Rs. 5 half-yearly.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE payable in the principal cities of Europe, India, Africa, America and Australia or purchased or collected.

DRAFTS are granted on the Head Office and Branches of the Bank and on the principal cities of Europe, Africa, America and Australia. Remittances may be by telegrams.

The Bank undertakes the purchase and sale of Government Securities, Stocks and Shares and receives same for safe custody realising Interest and Dividend when due.

Loans and Cash Credits granted on approved securities.

RALPH KIDD,
Manager.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.

(Registered in Japan.)
Established 1880.

Subscribed Capital ..... Yen 48,000,000
Paid-up Capital ..... Yen 36,000,000
Reserve Fund ..... Yen 22,100,000

HEAD OFFICE.—YOKOHAMA.

Branches and Agencies at

Antung Hsein	Calcutta	Ryojun (Port Arthur)
Changchun	London	San Francisco
Darien (Dalne)	Lyons	Shanghai
Hankow	Fongtien (Mukden)	Sydney (Australia)
Harbin	Nagasaki	Seattle (U.S.A.)
Hongkong	Newchwang	Tiehling
Honolulu	New York	Tientsin
Kobe	Osaka	Tokyo
Los Angeles (Cal U.S.A.)	Pekin	Tsingtau
Lisoyang	Singapore	Tsinanfu

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened at 2 per cent per annum on daily balances of Rs. 1,000 up to Rs. 1,00,000 provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.

FIXED DEPOSITS are received for One year and shorter periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

EVERY description of BANKING and EXCHANGE business transacted.

N. IGARASHI,
Manager.
Post Box No. 207,
Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

ESTABLISHED 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1906.
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE—ORIENTAL BUILDINGS. BOMBAY.

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED .....Rs. 1,00,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP .....Rs. 50,00,000
RESERVE FUND .....Rs. 10,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum from December 1st to May 31st, and 2 per cent. per annum for the remaining six months. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 3 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for shorter periods at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

GENERAL BANKING BUSINESS

Transacted rules for which can be obtained on application.

H. P. STRINGFELLOW,
Manager.

THE EASTERN BANK, LTD

(Incorporated in England.)

SAVINGS DEPOSITS ACCOUNTS.

The Bank receives Savings Deposits on the following terms:—

Interest is allowed at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum on the minimum balance, up to but not exceeding Rs. 3,000 at the credit of an account between the 6th and the last business days of each calendar month.

Deposits may be made in the names of two or more persons and may be made payable to any one or more of them, or to the survivor or survivors.

Copies of the rules are obtainable on application at the Bank.

BANKING

CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA, AUSTRALIA & CHINA

INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND BY ROYAL CHARTER, 1853.

Capital £1,200,000
Reserve Fund £1,900,000
Reserve Liability of Shareholders. £1,200,000

HEAD OFFICE:
38, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.
AGENCIES AND BRANCHES.
INDIA, BURMA, STRAITS & CHINA
CEYLON, MALAY STATES, JAPAN.

Bombay	Singapore	Hongkong
Calcutta	Penang	Shanghai
Madras	Malacca	Canton
Karachi	Kwala Lumpor	Foochow
Delhi	Ipoh	Hankow
Amritsar	Klang	Peking
Rangoon	Serenbam	Tientsin
Tavoy	Taiping	Yokohama
Colombo		Kobe

JAVA & SUMATRA, PHILIPPINES SIAM, INDO-CHINA, Manila, Bangkok,

Batavia	Saigon	Cebu Puket
Sourabaya	Haiphong Hoile	
Medan		

NEW YORK and all Banks in Australia.
BANKERS.—Bank of England, London City and Midland Bank, London, County and Westminister Bank, National Provincial Bank of England, National Bank of Scotland.

The CORPORATION grant DRAFTS on the above Agencies and Branches and also on the principle commercial cities throughout the world, buy and receive for collection BILLS OF EXCHANGE, issue TRAVELLING LETTERS OF CREDIT and undertake general Banking business of every description.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. Interest is allowed at 2 per cent. per annum on the minimum monthly balance of not under Rs. 1,000 and not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 but no interest is allowed when the sum accrued, does not amount to Rs. 5 half-yearly. Amounts above Rs. 1,00,000 will be received on terms which may be ascertained upon application.

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES, STOCKS and SHARES bought and sold on account of clients also received for safe custody and collection of Interest and Dividends, when due.

FIXED DEPOSITS are received for twelve months and shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

J. KEENAN,
Agent.
Esplanade Road.
Post Box No. 34, Bombay.
Office Hours.—10-30 a.m. to 4-0 p.m.
Saturday.—10-30 a.m. to 2 p.m.

THE MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED

(Incorporated in England.)

Subscribed Capital £1,125,000
Paid-up Capital £582,500
Reserve Liability of Shareholders. £582,500
Reserve Fund £600,000

HEAD OFFICE:
15, Gracechurch Street, London, E. C.
LONDON BANKERS:
The Bank of England.
London Joint Stock Bank, Ltd.
BRANCHES AND AGENCIES:

Bangkok	Hongkong	Kwala Lumpor
Batavia	Howrah (Calcutta)	Madras
Bombay	Kandy	Mauritius
Calcutta	Karachi	Penang
Colombo	Kota Bahru	Rangoon
Delhi	(Kelantan)	Shanghai
Galle		Singapore

The Bank negotiates and collects Bills and grants Drafts payable at its Head Office and branches and issues Letters of Credit for the use of Travellers.

The Bank receives Deposits on the following terms:—

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS

Opened and interest allowed thereon at 2 per cent. per annum on daily balances up to Rs. 1 lakh.

Every description of BANKING and EXCHANGE business undertaken.

Sums above Rs. 1 lakh will be received on terms to be ascertained on application.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Fixed deposits are received for twelve months and shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

NEW BRITISH WAR LOANS.—The Bank undertakes applications for these Loans on account of Constituents, and collection of interest thereon as it falls due FREE OF COMMISSION.

J. B. CRICHTON,
Manager
Esplanade Road, Bombay.

HONGKONG & SHANGHAI BANKING CORPORATION.

(Incorporated in Hongkong.)

Paid-up Capital $15,000,000
Reserve Liability of Proprietors. $15,000,000
Silver Reserve Fund $18,500,000
old Reserve Fund £1,500,000

COURT OF DIRECTORS AND HEAD OFFICE IN HONGKONG.
ADVISORY COMMITTEE IN LONDON.
BRANCHES:

Amoy	Johore	Saigon
angkok	Kobe	San Francisco
Batavia	Kwala Lumpor	Shanghai
Bombay	London	Do. Hongkew
Calcutta	Lyons	Singapore
Canton	Malacca	Sourabaya
Colombo	Manila	Taipeh
Foochow	Nagasaki	Tientsin
Hankow	New York	Tsingtau
Harbin	Peking	Yloilo
Hongkong	Penang	Yokohama
Ipoh	Rangoon	

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed at 2 per cent. per annum on Daily Balances of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 provided the sum accrued amounts to Rs. 5 half yearly.

FIXED DEPOSITS

Are received for varying periods up to 12 months on terms which may be ascertained on application. Drafts granted on London and the chief Commercial places in Europe, India, Australia, America, China and Japan. Credits granted. Bills purchased and every description of Banking and Exchange business transacted.

C. H. WILSON,
Agent.
40, Churchgate Street.

SALE BY AUCTION.

MESSRS. MEHTA & CO

Auctioneers to the Government and G. I. P. Railway.
25, Medows Street, Fort Bombay.
Telephone No. 1288.

NOTICE.

AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO MILLS, COLOUR MERCHANTS, AND DYERS.

Messrs. MEHTA & COMPANY are instructed to invite private offers for the following stock of Aniline Dyes of original packing in 1lb. and 1lb. tins such as:—

Congo Red, Fast Pink, Green Crystals, Orange and Chrysophinine.

Samples can be seen on application to the Undersigned.

SALE THIS DAY THURSDAY, the 27th December, at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.)

AUCTION SALE of the Unserviceable Stores, at the Government Telegraph Stores at Mazagon.

Under instructions from the Superintendent of the Government Telegraph Stores, Messrs. MEHTA and Co., will sell by Public Auction, THIS DAY, THURSDAY, the 27th December, at 2-30 p.m., (S.T.) at the premises of the stores below the bridge at Mazagon consisting of wire ropes, scraps of iron wire, bronze wire, brass, lead plates, electrolytric copper, copper [illegible], scrapped wrought iron and cast [illegible] other miscellaneous articles.

A deposit of 50 per cent. will be required at the time of sale and the balance to be paid and goods taken delivery of within 8 days of the date of sale.

AUCTION SALE OF 60 CWT. IRON BOLTS.

On SATURDAY, the 29th instant at 3 p.m., (S.T.), Messrs. MEHTA & Co., will sell by Public Auction at their Rooms by order of the [illegible] concerned:—

60 cwt. Iron bolts square head 4½in. by 7/8" [illegible].

AUCTION SALE OF 88, CASES OR BALES WHITE SHIRTINGS.

On SATURDAY, the 29th instant, at 4 p.m., (S.T.), Messrs. MEHTA & Co., will sell by Public Auction at their Rooms at No. 25, Medows Street, Fort, by order of the concerned and on account and at the risk of the defaulting purchaser Sha Keshanlal Nagindas.

20 Cases or Bales each 50 Pieces White Shirtings No. 152 or others and 40 yards.
19 Cases or Bales each 50 Pieces White Shirtings No. 153 or others and 40 yards.
[illegible] Cases or Bales each 50 Pieces White Shirtings No. 154 or others and 40 yards.
[illegible] Cases or Bales each 50 Pieces White Shirtings No. 156 or others and 40 yards.
[illegible] Cases or Bales each 50 Pieces White Shirtings No. 158 or others and 40 yards.

MEHTA & Co.
Auctioneers.
Bombay, 27th Dec. 1917.

GANDHI & CO

AUCTIONEERS & COMMISSION AGENTS.
No. 52 Medows Street.

AUCTION SALE OF 10 DRUMS BICHROMATE OF POTASH.

THIS DAY THURSDAY the 27th December, at 3 p.m., (S.T.), Messrs. GANDHI & Co., Auctioneers will sell by public Auction at their Rooms No. 52, Medows Street, by order of the office concerned—

10 Drums Bichromate of Potash each drum of about 1 cwt.

A deposit of 25 per cent. will be required at the time of sale.

AUCTION SALE OF 9 DRUMS SODIUM SULPHIDE AMERICAN.

THIS DAY THURSDAY, the 27th December at 3-30 p.m., (S.T.), Messrs. GANDHI & Co., Auctioneers will sell by public auction at their Rooms No. 52 Medows Street by order of the office concerned—

9 Drums Sodium Sulphide American each Drum of about 6½ cwt.

A deposit of 25 p.c. will be required at the time of sale.

GANDHI & Co.,
Auctioneers.
Bombay, 27th, Dec. 1917.

TURKO ROMAN BATH,

WITH MASSAGE AND VIBRATORY MASSAGE

Separate arrangement for Ladies.

Restorer and Preserver of HEALTH, STRENGHT AND BEAUTY.

Highly appreciated by the medical world.

Open: 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. Sundays not excepted.

Chambers: 808, Hornby Road, Bombay. opposite Whiteaway Laidlow & Co., Ltd.

THE BOMBAY WIDOWS' PENSION FUND LIMITED.

ESTABLISHED 1876.

No. 273, Hornby Road, near Fire Brigade Station.

Funded Capital over Two Lakhs.

Investments in Government and approved Securities only.

Regular Deposit with the Controller of Currency of the Government of India in terms of the Insurance Act.

The Accounts are subject to strict audit according to Indian Companies Act.

Perfect Economy in management. The supervision as to Rates, Mortality Investigation and Valuation is entrusted to an experienced European Actuary.

The object is to make provision for the widows of subscribers to a monthly pension from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 without distinction of caste or creed. Rates of subscription are very moderate. Liberal Surrender Value in case the wife predeceased. Twelve months' grace if occupation is lost.

Commission to canvassers.

For details apply for a copy of Rules to—

GANJANAN SADANAND DESAI,
Secretary and Treasurer.

The Silk you have been admiring'

(1) 'YOUR TASTE
(2) 'YOUR PURSE'
(3) 'YOUR FASHION

These have been our Special and Careful Study for years.

'The Silk' you have been 'admiring' is available

—ONLY—

AT—

AHMED E. ESAALI,
EMPIRE BUILDING: HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

SPECIAL SALE FOR
TOYS & XMAS PRESENTATION
WHITE
AT
JAPANESE FINE ARTS,
NEXT TO NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA.
COME ONE & COME ALL.

DELHI KUTAB MOTOR SERVICE COMPANY, LIMITED.
(INCORPORATED IN INDIA.)
REGISTERED CAPITAL Rs. 1,25,000.
Guaranteed Dividend at 8 o/o per annum.
Management under the board of distinguished Directors with Nawab Nasirul Mamalek Mirza Sujat Ali Beg, Khan Bahadur (Persian Consulate General), on the chair.
Authorized issue Rs. 1,20,000
Divided into 6,000 shares of Rs. 20 each.
Payable as follows:—
Rs. 3—on application
Rs. 2—on allotment,
and the rest in calls of Rs. 5 at an interval of not less than a month.
Apply for Share Prospectus and Application Forms to the Agent,
THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD., BOMBAY.
OR TO
MESSRS. A. C. M. ENIS & CO.
Bombay Office—303, Hornby Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

HOTELS

THE EVER POPULAR
EMPRESS HOTEL
NASIK ROAD,
DEOLALI.
MODERATE CHARGES.
FAMOUS FOR CUISINE
SPACIOUS GYMKHANA.

Messrs. P. HORMUSJI & COMPANY.
No. 123, Crawford Market,
Central Compound.
THE LARGEST AND CHEAPEST.

Daily bazar suppliers of dry and fresh fruits, vegetables, ice, fish and oilmanstores to Navies, Clubs, Hotels and private Families Commission Agents, Purveyors and General Merchants.

All orders local or up-country carefully executed and promptly despatched under the special supervision of the proprietors.

Prices exceptionally cheap, genuineness of every article guaranteed.

A TRIAL ORDER EARNESTLY SOLICITED.

CASH ONLY WITH ORDER OF V. P.

WE MANUFACTURE
FINE WHITE
THYMOL B. P.
Quotation on Request.
G. S. RANADE & CO.,
Bombay No. 4.

CONSUMPTION
A FEW FACTS.

You are an Indian, you have an Indian constitution, you need Indian medicines. I am English, educated at a University which has produced the greatest Doctors in the world. I have been London City Lecturer under patronage of H. M. the Queen and have been connected with hospitals for many years and my uncle was President of the Medical Association. But I use Indian herbs—because it is the only cure for this disease. Some want Home Rule, some don't—but all want Health.

Read this, then enquire and enquire and enquire but come to me, my brains, my experience, my advice are for you and I make no charge.

I want you, I want your caste brother, I want you all because

I CAN CURE YOU.

I have cured "Hopeless" cases, people with lung ½ wasted, both lungs badly diseased, chronic diarrhoea, night sweats, severe pains in lungs.

Read this letter from a leading Mahommedan gentleman under date 11th December:—

FATHER'S GRATITUDE FOR SAVING HIS DYING GIRL.

"The Sanatorium Doctor again examined her lungs on Friday last and said that her lungs were better than in the last week, which means that she is steadily improving though not yet quite cured. We are all indeed very happy and we owe you an everlasting gratitude. She now moves about and walks a little and considers that she is quite well and don't require any medicines."

DOCTOR writes under date 12th December:—

"I have therefore made up my mind to induce as many of my patients as possible to use your medicines."

I can be seen in Bombay one or two days a week so write for free interview.

REV. G. R. WALTERS,
M.R., L.L.D., B.A., T.C.D.,
Alliance House,
Lonarla.

ADVERTISEMENT AND SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

"Wanted," "To be Let," and "For Sale" Advertisements, when not strictly appertaining to any regular business, are charged at the following rates, which must be prepaid:—

Advertisements not exceeding (20 words) 8 annas per insertion; every additional word ½ anna.

Advertisements are not received after 6 p.m. for insertion in the next day's paper.

Domestic Announcements.—6 lines. Rs. 2 per insertion prepaid. Every additional line, annas 4 extra.

Government, Railway, Legal and other Public Notifications.—Twelve annas per line or Rs. 6 per inch. Minimum charge Rs. 2.

Company Prospectuses and Company Notices—Twelve annas per line or Rs. 6 per inch.

Trade Announcements in Special Short Advertisement Columns.—Two annas per line or Re. 1 per inch. No display allowed.

Educational Announcements.—Six annas per line or Rs. 3 per inch.

All advertisements are payable strictly in advance.

Special contract rates for display advertisements can be had on application to:

THE MANAGER,
"Bombay Chronicle." Office,
No. 3, Medows Street, Bombay.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

Payable Strictly in Advance.

DAILY EDITION.

	LOCAL.	UP-COUNTRY
Yearly.....Rs	30-0	Rs. 35-0
Half-yearly.. „	16-0	„ 18-0
Quarterly .. „	8-0	„ 9-0
Monthly .... „	3-0	„ 3-8

Single Copy.....TWO Annas.

SUNDAY EDITION.

	LOCAL.	UP-COUNTRY
Yearly	[illegible]	Rs 6-0

Single Copy .....ONE Anna.

All subscriptions commence on and from the 1st or 15th day of the month; broken periods preceding the subscription date are counted at 2 annas per copy.

Monthly Subscribers should send their Subscription in advance, regularly, to maintain continuous supply.

TRADE ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT have bought over 5000 "EMPIRE TYPEWRITERS." What better test of efficiency and durability? Catalogue from CITY SHORTHAND & TYPEWRITING STUDIO, 281, Hornby Road, Fort. 1

SITUATIONS VACANT.

PHOTOGRAPHY.—WANTED SILVER PRINTER. Apply BACKHOUSE & Co., Poona. 1431

WANTED for an Indian Army Depot a PAY CLERK with previous experience in Departmental or Regimental Offices. Pay Rs. 30-5-40 to suitable man. Apply forwarding testimonials, etc., to Adjutant Depot, 105th Mahratta Light Infantry, Belgaum. 1245

WANTED—A Gujarati-knowing MATRIC or SCHOOL FINAL TEACHER for Vasna Anglo-Vernacular School. Pay Rs. 20-2-25. Apply with copies of testimonials to Messrs. NAGINDAS & MANEKLAL, 21, Church Gate Street, Bombay. 1508

REQUIRED IMMEDIATELY—A STENO TYPIST with thorough English qualifications who can take notes at great speed. Salary Rs. 400 according to qualifications. Apply with photograph statin number of words per minute to PRIVATE SECRETARY to His Highness Sri Maharaj Deo of Alwar. 1434

WANTED—AN ENGLISH SPEAKING CLERK with previous experience in Brigade or Regimental Office to superintend Returns Records, and Files of Indian Infantry Depot. Pay Rs. 35—5—40 per mensem to suitable man. Apply forwarding testimonials, etc., to ADJUTANT DEPOT, 105th Mahratta Light Infantry, Belgaum 1177

APPLICATIONS are invited for the post of STATE MEDICAL OFFICER. Only duly qualified medical graduates with good practice and experience need apply. Starting salary Rs. 150 to 200 according to qualifications. Quarters free Good prospects. MOTILAL L. PAREKH, Diwan, Baria State, Hazoor Office, Devgad Baria. 1370

SHORTHAND TYPIST WANTED for Loco and Carriage Supdt's Office, B. B. & C. I. Ry., Parel. Salary Rs. 50. Applications with copies of testimonials should be submitted to the Undersigned on or before the 2nd January, 1918, when selected applicants will be advised of the date on which to appear for examination. F. J. PAGE, Loco. and Carriage Supdt. 1495

WANTED IMMEDIATELY—A LADY TEACHER in Civil Lines Etawah U. P. to teach English, Mathematics, History and Geography up to the S. L. C. (Matric) standard, for my wife and two daughters. Pay from Rs. 80 to Rs. 125 according to qualifications. Lodging free. None below those plucked in the Intermediate Examination after regular studies in a College in the above subjects need apply. Candidates must speak Urdu with facility. Apply sharp with copies of certificates and stating full terms to—RAJ NASAIN, B.A., C.E., Executive Engineer, Canals, U. P. Etawah. 1499

WANTED.

WANTED—AGENTS on commission for our manufacture. Apply stating terms to HINDUSTAN HEMPSHOES MNFG. CO., Ahmedabad. 1500

WANTED—TRAVELLING AGENCY WORK in Kathiawad. Charges moderate. Apply Box No. 571, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle" 1454

FOR SALE,

FOR SALE—JAIPUR and MIRZAPUR CARPETS of all sizes and tastes in retail at factory prices by MEHTA & Co., Auctioneers, 25, Medows Street, Fort.

THIN SKIN WALNUTS, 11lb. fresh Hazelnuts 11 lb. Rs. 4-8 each. Selected thin skin almonds, 11 lb., Rs. 12. All prices with postage, DAR BROS, Ist Bridge, Srinagar, Kashmir. 1161

ON VIEW.—Mr. J. D. F. Engel's Valuable Furniture, Drawing Room Suite, Cabinets, Almyrahs, Jost Fan, Australian Safe, etc., at No. 4, Palli Hill, Bandora. Sale on Sunday, the 30th inst. 1501

TO BE LET

WATSON'S ANNEXE, Apollo Bunder Rooms facing Yacht Club Apollo Pier Road. Rents from Rs. 25 to 125 Rooms can be furnished and arrangemen for Board made on shortest notice. Apply to MANAGER.

PUBLIC NOTICES.

THE KESAR INDIAN SUGAR MANUFACTURING CO., LTD.

NOTICE

IS HEREBY GIVEN to the shareholders of the said Company, that the EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING called on MONDAY, the 24th December, 1917, is POSTPONED, for want of quorum, to SATURDAY, the 29th December, 1917, at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.), at 80 Esplanade Road, the registered Office of the Company.

NAGINDAS & HARGOVINDDAS & Co.,
Secretaries. Treasurers & Agents.
80, Esplanade, Road.
Fort, Bombay,
Dated 24th December, 1917. 1510

THE CITY OF BOMBAY IMPROVEMENT ACT 1898.

NOTIFICATION OF ALTERATION OF A STREET SCHEME.

PAREL ROAD (CENTRAL) STREET SCHEME.

SCHEME No. 43.

WHEREAS a Notification of a Street Scheme made by the Trustees for the Improvement of the City of Bombay (being Scheme 43) was duly published under the provisions of the above Act in the "Government Gazettes" of 22rd April 1914, 30th April 1914 and 7th May 1914.

And whereas the said Trustees applied to Government for sanction to the said Scheme, such application being accompanied by (*inter alia*) a statement specifying the land proposed to be acquired therefor and a schedule showing the rateable value of the same in accordance with the provisions of Sections 22 and 32 of the said Act.

And whereas the sanction of Government to the said Scheme was accorded and was communicated to the said Trustees by the Government Resolution (General Department) No. 2670, dated 12th April, 1916.

And whereas it appears to the said Trustees that an improvement can be made in divers parts of the said Scheme, and the said Trustees have altered the part of the said Scheme for the purpose of making such improvement.

And whereas the said Scheme as now altered involves the acquisition otherwise than by agreement of certain land other than that specified in the aforesaid Schedule as proposed to be acquired for the purpose of the said Scheme. NOW IT IS HEREBY NOTIFIED pursuant to Sections 27 (1), 2) (2) (c) and 32 of the said Act, that the Scheme has been so altered in divers parts are situate in the Municipal Wards B and C, Umerkhadi and Khara Talao Sections, respectively, of the said City and that an altered Scheme has been made by the said Trustees. The limits of the areas comprised in the portions of the Scheme so altered are as follows:—

As to the portion in B Ward (marked with the letter "P" on plan):—

On the West—Parel Road (Bhendy Bazar).
On the North—A Mosque bearing Ward No. 2335 (1 and 2).
On the East—Piru Lane and land of the Municipal Corporation of the said City bearing Ward No. 2313.
On the South—Property of the said Trustees bearing Ward No. 2280.

As to the portion in C Ward (marked with the letters "A", "B", "C", "D", "E", "F", "G" and "H" on the plan):—

On the West—Dharamsey Street, Dharamsey Cross Street and Gunal Street.
On the North—Properties bearing Ward Nos. 7996, 7997 and 6948 and Agiary Lane (Bhendy Bazar).
On the East—Guzar Street and property belonging to Ramchandra Krishnaji Bhojne and others, bearing Ward Nos. 8070 (1) and 8070 (2) and Dharamsey Street.
On the South—Property belonging to the said Ramchandra Krishnaji Bhojne and others, bearing Ward Nos. 8011 and property bearing Ward No. 8069, 8006 and 8007 (1).

The Office of the said Trustees at the Espianade Road within the Fort of Bombay is the place where particulars of the said Scheme so altered, a Map (Plan No. 246, dated 1st December, 1917) of the area comprised in the section containing the altered part of the Scheme (such area being delineated on the said Map and thereon enclosed in a red verge line) and a Statement specifying the additional land proposed to be acquired, may be seen at all reasonable hours.

The Additional lands now proposed to be acquired, are distinguished on the said Map by the colour yellow and are thereon marked with capital letters running consecutively from "A" to "I" as aforesaid.

J. P. ORR,
Chairman.
15th December, 1917. 1412

PUBLIC NOTICES.

NOTICE.

THE public are hereby informed that the Power of Attorney issued in favour of Khoja Ismail Valjee has been cancelled.

HABIB RAWJEE.
24th Dec. 1917. 1503

NOTICE

FOR SALE IN HIS HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

ABOUT ona hundred acres of excellent land a few yards from the Daulatabad Railway Station on the Metre Gauge Railway, comprising a garden, a house and seven wells in good condition.

The climate and soil are suitable for fruit culture.

Aurangabad and Daulatabad grapes, oranges and other fruits are well known throughout India.

The produce of third land commands several markets for instance Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Bombay and Poona.

The garden contains the following trees in good condition. Income about one thousand rupees per annum.

Orange trees	130
Guava trees	300
Graft Mango trees	50
Seed Mango trees	2
Pomegranate trees	75
Fig trees	3
Tamarind trees	2
Custard Apple Trees	50
Ber Fruit Trees (which can be grafted)	100
Ber fruit graft trees	2
Bahool trees	5
Reetha (soap-nut) tree	2

The property will be sold to the highest bid over Rs. 20,000/- received by the 24th February, 1918

(Sd) G. AHMED KHAN,
Superintendent, Court of Wards,
1509 H. H. the Nizam's Government.

MATHERAN STEAM TRAMWAY.

WITH effect from Tuesday, the 8th January, 1918, the following will be the revised train service on the Matheran Steam Tramway:—

SATURDAYS.

471 Down mixed.

	H.	M.
Neral D.	10	10
Matheran A.	12	10

472 Up mixed.

	H.	M.
Matheran D.	13	45
Neral A.	15	18

473 Down mixed

	H.	M.
Neral D.	16	30
Matheran A.	18	30

MONDAYS.

470 Up mixed.

	H.	M.
Matheran D.		
Neral A.		

471 Down mixed.

	H.	M.
Neral D.	10	10
Matheran A.	12	10

472 Up mixed.

	H.	M.
Matheran D.	15	45
Neral A.	17	18

Sundays and other week days except Mondays and Saturdays:—

471 Down mixed.

	H.	M.
Neral D.	10	10
Matheran A.	12	10

472 Up mixed.

	H.	M.
Matheran D.	15	45
Neral A.	17	18

A. C. RUMBOLL,
General Traffic Manager,
G. I. P. Railway.
Bombay, 24th December, 1917.

BANK OF BOMBAY.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the TRANSFER BOOKS of the Bank will be CLOSED from WEDNESDAY, the 2nd proximo, till WEDNESDAY, the 16th proximo both days inclusive.

By order of the Board,
R. AITKEN,
Secretary and Treasurer.
Bombay, 20th December, 1917. 1442

BANK OF BOMBAY.

THE BANK will be CLOSED on FRIDAY, the 28th instant that day being a Public Holiday (Bara Wafat) under the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881.

R. AITKEN,
Secretary and Treasurer.
Bombay, 21st December, 1917. 1461

FOR SALE.

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY FOR INVESTMENT.

Grants Buildings, and Kamal Mansions. Situated in Colaba, Bombay.

TWO BLOCKS of huge buildings one five and the other five stories high, consisting of over one hundred spacious flats with electric fittings.

1. Area 7,750 square yards.
2. Tenure lease-hold in perpetuity at a permanent charge of Rs. 100 per year.
3. Rent realised at present is over Rs. 5,500 per mensem.

OPEN TO OFFERS.

Offers will be received by the undersigned till 15th January, 1918.

For full particulars apply to
G. AHMED KHAN,
Superintendent, Court of Wards,
H. H. the Nizam's Government,
933 HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

LEGAL NOTICES.

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that HAJI DOST MAHOMED bin GULAM RASSOOL and MAHOMED bin GULAM RASSOOL, both of Bombay Mahomedan inhabitants have contracted to sell the property hereinafter described, to our client Issaji Vallijee Currimbhoy Jalalbhoy. All persons having any claims or demands against or to the said property either by way of mortgage, gift, sale, use, trust, possession, inheritance, lease or otherwise howsoever are hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned at their office, No. 48, Medows Street, Fort, within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the purchase will be completed without reference to any such claim or demand and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All those pieces or parcels of land of Foras Tenure containing by admeasurement 3,225 square yards or thereabouts and registered by the Collector of Land Revenue under Old Nos. 201, 202, New No. 13725, Old Survey No. 397 and New Survey No 3443, together with the messuages tenements or buildings standing thereon assessad by the Municipality of Bombay under E Ward Nos. 7112 (1), 7112 (2), 7112 (3), 7112 (4), 7112 (5), 7112 (6) and 7112 (7) Street Nos. 47—1—2—3—4—5—6 all which premises are situate at and on the East side of De Lisle Road, at Bombay in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay, and are bounded on the East by G. I. P. Railway Line, on the West by De Lisle Road, on the North by the property of Dagdoo Vithaji Khande and on the South by the property of Mr. Khambata and were formerly and are now in the occupation of the Vendors and their tenants.

Dated this 22nd day of December, 1917.
VACHHA & CO.,
1504 Purchaser's Attorneys.

NOTICE.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that my client Mr. KUVARJI NAWROSJI MEHTA, of Bombay has contracted to purchase from Mr. SAKKAR CHHATHOO, of Bombay Mahomedan inhabitant.

All that piece or parsel of land partly of Foras Tenure and partly of redeemed Foras Tenure together with the Chawl consisting of 106 rooms and all other the hereditaments and premises situate lying and being at De Lisle Road, Mingaotmandly also known as Worlee, Ferguson Road, without the Fort and in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay, containing by admeasurement 2,283 square yards on thereabouts, out of which 1 647 square yards on thereabouts are registered in the Books of the Collector of Land Revenue under Old No, 327, New No, 12366, and New Survey No. 4/2928 and the remaining 636 square yards or thereabouts forms portion of the Land Registered in the Books of the Collector of Land Revenue under Collector's Old Nos. 131, 184, 133, 378, 398, 184, 410, 414, Collector's New Nos. 12050, 12060 and 12126 and New Survey Nos. 3/2927 and 4/2772 and which chawl and hereditaments are Assessed by the Assessor and Collector of Municipal Rates and Taxes under G (south) Ward Nos. 2205 (2) 2205 (2A) Street Nos. 1201 A and 1201 AA and bounded as follows: On or towards the North the vacant ground of the vendor, on or towards the South by a public passage, on or towards the West by the vacant Land of the vendor, on or towards the East by the property of the Pearl Mills.

All persons therefore having any claim on the said property or any portion thereof either by way of sale, mortgage, gift, lease, lien, charge, inheritance or otherwise are requested to notify the same in writing to the undersigned at his office at Erskine Road, Null Bazaar within 14 days from the date hereof, otherwise the sale will be completed without regard or reference to any such claims (if any) and the same will be considered to have been waived.

COOVERJI R. BILLIMORIA.
Vakil, High Court.
Bombay, 27th December, 1917. 1505

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT BOMBAY.

TESTAMENTARY AND INTESTATE JURISDICTION.

GEORGE V by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

Petition for Letters of Administration of the property and credits of BHIMJI DHANJI, late of Bombay Bhatia Hindu inhabitant, Broker...Deceased.

Bai RATANBAI, widow of BHIMJI DHANJI, of Bombay Bhatia Hindu Inhabitant, residing at Holi Chakla, within the Fort of Bombay .....Petitioner.

All persons claiming to have any interest in the Estate of the abovenamed deceased are hereby cited to come and see the proceedings if they think fit before the Grant of Letters of Administration.

Witness Sir BASIL SCOTT, Knight, Chief Justice at Bombay aforesaid this Nineteenth day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and seventeen and in the eighth year of our Reign.

Seal of the High Court at Bombay.

P. B. MALABARI,
Acting Registrar.

W. J. HOWARD,
The 19th day of Dec., 1917.
Mrs. RATANBAI, Widow,
1506 Petitioner-in-person.

AMUSEMENTS:

Next Saturday
AT THE
ELDORADO
CINEMA.
LAMINGTON ROAD.

The Serial that will take Bombay by Storm.

THE AMERICAN GIRL
featuring
MARIN SAIS

The most daring horsewoman and Lady athlete in the world.

ACTION! ACTION! ACTION!

stirring action that will make you sit up on your chair with excitement.

WHO IS THE BLACK RIDER?

We will tell you all about him, commencing Saturday 29th.

AMUSEMENTS.

TO-NIGHT IS THE GREAT GALA NIGHT!

At 6-30 **TO-NIGHT** At 10 p.m.

PALACE
OF VARIETIES
GAIETY THEATRE
Presents
TOM MELBOURNE'S
Grand Christmas Pantomime
ALADDIN
AND HIS WONDERFUL LAMP
In 7 Scenes
THE FUNNIEST PANTOMIME
Ever Produced in Bombay.
ROARS OF LAUGHTER
A FULL
2½ Hours Solid & 2½
HEALTHY AMUSEMENT
Same old prices.

WANTED CINEMA LOVERS

to note that we are prepared to undertake private Cinema entertainment in any part of Bombay in a place fitted with electric installation, at Moderate Charges.

All inquiries should be addressed to the Proprietor,
IMPERIAL CINEMA,
1476 Lamington Road.

EMPIRE THEATRE
HORNBY ROAD, BORI BUNDER.
To-Night at 9-30
To-Nisht at 9-30

On THURSDAY next, 27th Dec., at 9-30 sharp.

A GRAND GALA PERFORMANCE

In aid of the Bombay League of Mercy.
Under DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE.

PROGRAMME

By special request a New Adaptation of The Rubaiyat of
OMAR KHAYAM
Music arranged and partly composed by Mr. M. V. LAWSON.

60 PERFORMERS 60

Mesdames. McGrath, Bluett, Mac Iver, Goldney, Ramsay, Kelly, Bateley, Pentreath, Shorten, Jameson, Webb, Lane.

Misses. Raper, Strangman, of I. Sykes, M. Sykes, L Sykes, V Sykes. D. Ablett, Rimington, Powvalla Grant, Lennon, Barnard, Stokes, Mithi Pocha, Tallyarkhan, Ingham Kelly, Joan Binning, Clarke, Morgan, Hyam, N. Hyam.

Masters, C. Stokes. W. Baird, A Raymond, Homi Baba, P. Wakefield, Talyarkhan, Khalil Behdesti, Hasan Ahmedbhoy, Currimbhoy, Baby Tilla, Shirazi Mahomed Khan, Nasrella Khan.

Messrs. James McGrath R. T. H. MacKenzie, Weber, Major Starkey, Capt. Retallack, Lt., Macnaghten Lt. Royal Syed Ispanli Ali Mirza, L. Cpl. S. Creasy.

TABLEAUX
An Episode "Love or Money"

A Music Tableau and Minuet
"THE PANEL OF A FAN"
Mr. and Mrs. JAMES McGRATH
Grand Tableau
"THE GREATEST OF THESE"

H. E. THE GOVERNOR'S BAND
Under the Direction of Mr. BARRATT
PLAN NOW OPEN AT ROSE AND CO.

NOTICE

The Murzban Road Entrance being reserved.

The Public will enter on the Hornby Road side.

AMUSEMENTS.

EMPIRE
To-day at 6-30 only.
GRAND X'MAS ATTRACTIONS
The Darling of the Screen
The Delight of the Kiddies
BABY MARIE OSBOURNE
BABY MARIE OSBOURNE

IN
"WHEN BABY FORGOT"
A fine Gold Rooster play in 5 Delightful Acts
BRING THE KIDDIES AND YOURSELF
To see the most charming Baby Actress
Baby Marie Sunshine
A XMAS TREAT!
For Children and grown ups
BABY MARIE SUNSHINE
"THE CUDDLY KID"
EMPIRE COMEDIES
"TEDDY BEAR AT PLAY!"
"LUKES BUSY DAY"

THE EXCELSIOR
XMAS SEASON ATTRACTIONS!
TO-NIGHT AT 9-30
MAURICE E. BANDMAN presents the
BANDMAN OPERA COMPANY
In a repertoire of the Latest London Success
To-day Thursday & To morrow Friday.
"THE MAID OF THE MOUNTAINS"
SATURDAY 29TH DEC.
"THE MERRY WIDOW."
SUNDAY 30TH DEC.
HALF PRICE MATINEE AT 5 P.M.
"THE BETTER'OLE"
PRICES AS USUAL.
Plan open at Rose & Co., after 7 p.m. at the Theatre

THE EXCELSIOR
To-day at 6-30 p.m.
FESTIVE SEASON
CINEMA PROGRAMME:
CHARLIE CHAPLIN
IN
"CHARLIE'S FIRST VACATION"
In 2 uproarious Acts.
TOPICAL:
THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT
Comedy:
WIFFLES IN THE WRONG FLAT
3rd Episode of the Wonder Serial
"THE SHIELDING SHADOW"
Popular Prices Rs. 2 to 4 annas.

OPEN AIR DANCE
G. I. P. Ry. Mechanics' Institute, BYCULLA.
On the 31st December 1917.
COMENCING 9-30 P.M.
Admission—Members Rs. 1 and 2 ladies
Non members Rs. 2 and 2 ladies
C. B. GARDNER,
Hony. Secretary.

Digitized with financial assistance from the Government of Maharashtra on 09 April, 2017

AMUSEMENTS.

IMPERIAL

The Premier Picture Palace of Bombay.
LAMINGTON ROAD.
To-night!
"MARIE TUDOR"
A Page from the History of England.
Beautifully Coloured by **Pathe Process.**
Mounted in the most lavish manner.
Played by an ALL STAR CAST OF THE COMEDIE FRANCAISE.
PATHE GAZETTE Latest.
"TRANSFORMATIONS" Magic-Coloured.
TIME:—7, 8-45 and 10-30 p. m. daily.
Matinee every Saturday and Sunday 5 p. m.
Coming **"Mystery of the Double Cross,"** *January 5th.*
NOTE.—**Special Prize Matinees** will be given at 5 p. m. on all Bank Holidays during this week.

HELLO! HELLO!!
TREAT YOUR FAMILY
AND YOUR FRIENDS
TO THE MOST ENTERTAINING
X'MAS TREAT
SHOW THEM THE
MYSTERIES OF MYRA
A Chaste, Sober, Scientific and greatly Fascinating Subject such as they have seldom seen before!
ACT PROMPTLY
THE OPPORTUNITY IS NOW!
ONCE GONE IT WILL NE'ER COME AGAIN.
OLYMPIA
SANDHURST ROAD (West).
Phone 1266. POPULAR HALF PRICES.
Nightly 7: 8-45 & 10-30 p. m. Saturday, and Sunday
Matinees at 3-30 p. m. (PRIZE SHOW) and 5-15 p.m.
N. A. B.

TO-DAY 9-30 p. m. **Do Your Bit** TO-DAY 9-30 p. m.
by Aiding
"The Our Day" Fund
which will be swelled by the proceeds of a Special Performance by
MISS TARABAI
and her famous
CIRCUS
TREAT YOUR FAMILY
AND YOUR FRIENDS
To the Most Entertaining
X'MAS TREAT.
TAKE THEM TO
MISS TARABAI
and her famous
CIRCUS
and show them
MISS TARABAI'S
astounding feats which are still drawing thousands to her spacious tent near the Grant Road Station, See them and you will be simply amazed.
Miss Nanee's wire-walking feats, Mr. Ambrosio's balancing feats and Miss Pillar's cycling feats on the wire are so exciting and amazing that the audience is constantly in a tumult of enthusiasm. Denver Bill's shooting performance is simply sensational. Every item of the programme is applauded lustily by the audience.
Sensational Events
ON
Saturday, 29th at 9-30 p. m.
THE EAR-CATCHING FEAT
CHALLENGE No. (1 PRIZE, Rs. 500):—Any one of the audience is challenged to catch one or two ears of Miss Tarabai in his strong grip and Miss Tarabai has developed her ears to such an extent that she will in a single jirk free herself, failing which the above prize will be given away. The man volunteering must be sober and must abide by certain conditions.
CHALLENGE No. (2 PRIZE, Rs. 500):—Doubts have been raised by some that Miss Tarabai's feats are not due to her strength and her practice of deep-breathing. If any one proves that she wears protective garments and employs electricity or any other agent in her feat of pushing a loaded cart with the point of spear, is entitled to a prize of Rs. 500. Come on, who volunteers.

HAPPY NEW YEAR.
To the various Heads of the Dept. of P. W. D. States. and Patrons,
Messrs. SAJAN & Co. BOMBAY.
(suppliers of Tiles, Marbles, and metallic ceilings,) offer their heartiest gratitude for past year's patronage and hope the same shall be continued for the New Year which would brug peace and prosperity all round.

AMUSEMENTS.

ROYAL OPERA HOUSE
BOMBAY'S MOST CENTRAL THEATRE
A Dedication to Art, Science, Music
PRESENTS THE FOREMOST HOLIDAY PROGRAMME.
COL. FRANK FILLIS' CIRCUS & MENAGERIE
TWICE DAILY AT 5 AND 9-30 P.M.
Until further Notice.
WHAT A SUCCESS! WHAT A SUCCESS!!
of the
FIRST GRAND CHANGE OF PROGRAMME.
Considered to be the best Arenic performance of the large repertoire.
Those that witnessed the show will verify this statement.
Which includes the following Choice Items:—
Sultan Col. Fillis' Latest High School Horse who executes 22 Different Phases of the Hantecole.
Miss M. Daniloof, the fearless Mexican Rough Rider.
Ah. Soe, the marvellous Chinese Acrobat.
Miss Daisy Cook, the dauntless Horsewoman.
The three performing Teddy Bears.
Mons. Rougalio's Troup of performing Tigers.
The acme of animal intelligence.
THE WHOLE SUPERB SHOW GIVEN ON THE STAGE.
TWICE DAILY
MATINEE AT 5 P. M.
NIGHT SHOW AT 9-30 P. M.
Prices:—Rs. 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 and Ans. 8.
Boxes Rs. 10 and upwards.
Special arrangements made for Zenana Boxes on the Stage, Rs. 10 and upwards.
Children half prices to Matinees only.
Menagerie on view daily from 9 to 4.
Booking at Rose and Co.'s from 10 to 6.
Booking at the Theatre from 9 to 1 and 4 to 6.
NO CINEMA TO-DAY AS THE CIRCUS MATINEE IS ON.

COMMERCIAL.

CABLE QUOTATIONS.

COTTON.

LIVERPOOL WEEKLY COTTON REPORT.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

London, Saturday, Dec. 2 2nd.

	Bales.
Total in Sight	6,866,000
Egyptian Visible Supply..	418,000
East Indian ,, ,, ...	149,000
American ,, ,, ...	3,199,000
Other ,, ,, ...	70,00

AMERICAN MARKETS.

New York, Dec. 21st

Day's Receipts at all U. S Ports	22,000
Day's Exports to Great Britain	5,000
,, ,, to Continent	Nil
Futures at New York Mar.	28.25—23
,, ,, May	28.31—26
,, ,, July	23.30—27
Spot Cotton at New York	31.10 Unchgd.
,, at New Orleans	29.13+25
Futures at New Orleans Mar.	28.00—17
,, ,, May	27.30—18
Fair Rio Coffee (No. 7 quality)	7½
Demand Bills	4.75.25
Silver Commercial Bars	36½

(Delayed in transmission.)

	Bales
Week's Receipts of Cotton at U. S. Ports ..	120,000
,, Exports to Great Britain ..	25,000
,, ,, to France and Continent ..	23,000
,, ,, to Japan	10,000
Stock of Cotton at U. S. Ports	1,256,000
,, ,, at Interior Ports	1,140,000

New York, Dec 22nd.

Day's Receipts at all U. S. Ports	18,000
Day's Exports to Great Britain	Nil
,, ,, to Continent.. ..	5,000
Futures at New York Mar	28.15+20
,, ,, May	28.22+21
,, ,, July	28.40+18
Spot Cotton at New York	30.85—25
,, at New Orleans	28.13 Unchgd.
Futures at New Orleans Mar	28.11+11
,, ,, May.	27.92+12
Fair Rio Coffee (No. 7 quality)	7½
Demand Bills	4.75.25
Silver Commercial Bars	36½

New York, Dec. 24th.

Day's Receipts at all U. S. Ports	22,000
Futures at New York Mar.	29.24+11
,, ,, May	29.26+14
,, ,, July	29.45+15
Spot Cotton at New York	31.00+15
,, at New Orleans	29.13 Unchgd.
Futures at New Orleans Mar.	28.26+13
,, ,, May	28.03+11

MONEY MARKETS.

London, Dec. 22nd

Bar Silver Spot	43 3/8
Closing Tone of Silver:—Quiet.	
Discount Bank of England Rate 5 per cent since 5th April, 1917.	
Discount Bank Bills 3 m/ss	4 13/16
,, Indian Bank Bills 6 m/ss	4 3/4
,, Fine Trade Bills 3 months	5 1/8
,, ,, ,, 6	5 3/8
Interest day to day loans	4
,, 7 day market loans	4 1/4

London, Dec. 24th.

Bar Silver Spot	43 3/8
Closing Tone of Silver:—Steady.	
Discount Bank of England Rate 5 per cent since 5th April, 1917	
Discount Bank Bills 3 m/ss	4 13/16
Discount Indian Bank Bills 6 m/ss	4 3/4
,, Fine Trade Bills 3 months	5 1/8
,, ,, ,, 6	5 3/8
Interest day to day loans	4
,, 7 day market loans	4 1/4

INDIAN WAR LOAN.

BOMBAY POST OFFICE SECTION.

Bombay, Dec. 26th.

	Rs.
Cash Certificates	759-8
Total up-to-date	24,91,550

BOMBAY CITY AND SUBURBS.

LOCAL ENGAGEMENTS.

Meeting of the Standing Committee, Municipal Corporation Office, 3-45 p.m. (B.T.)

FRIDAY, Dec. 28.

Salle Francaise: Public lecture on Alsace-Lorraine by Lieut.-Colonel E. E. Preston, at 6-30 p.m.

Mails for Ibo, Chindi, Quilimane, Mozambique, Beira and L. Marquis will be closed at 9-0 a.m. Registered letters and parcels will be accepted up to 6-30 p.m. on Saturday previous.

MONDAY, Dec. 31.

"Our Day" General Committee Meeting—Secretariat, 6 p.m.

New Year Eve Dance, G. I. P. Byculla Mechanic's Institute 9-30 p.m. (S.T.)

THURSDAY, Jan. 10.

Mails for Mauritius and Reunion via Dhanushkodi and Colombo, will be closed at the General Post Office at 7-30 p.m.

Mails for E. A. E Force Lamu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, will be closed at the General Post Office at 8 a.m.

AMUSEMENTS.

TO-NIGHT.

Fillis Circus at Royal Opera House, 5 p.m. and 9-30 p.m.

Miss Tarabai's Circus. 9-30 p.m,

Excelsior Theatre: Bandman Opera at 9-30 and Cinema at 6-30 p.m.

Palace of Varites: X'mas Pantomime Aladdin Children's Matinee 4 p.m.; Usual 6-15 Gaiety Theatre and 9-45 Edwards Theatre.

Imperial Cinema: Lamington Road, 7-0, 8-45, and 10-30.

New Alexandra Cinema:, Lohar Chawl, Prin.

Empire Cinema: 4-30, 6-30, 8-15 and 10 p.m.

West End Cinema: Charni Road: 5-30, 7-0 8-45 and 10-15.

Eldorado Cinema: Lamington Road, 6-45 8-30 and 10-0.

Anglo-American Cinema: Sandhurst Road 7-0, 8-30 and 10-30.

New Alhambra Cinema: Sandhurst Road, 7-45, 9-0 and 10-45.

Olympia Cinema: Sandhurst Road.

Domestic Occurrence.

MEHER HOMJEE.—Rustomji Jamshedji Meher Homjee Head accountant—Messrs. Alcock Ashdown & Co., Brother of Dr. Sorab Jamshedji Meher Homjee and Byramji and December, 1917, at 3 a.m. Sleater Road, Deeply regretted.

BAND AT THE P. V. MARY GYMKHANA

By kind permission of the Officers the band of the 1st Battalion B. B. & C. I. Railway Rifles; will play a programme of music under the direction of Mr. W. S. Walcott at P. M. V. Gymkhana to-day at 6-15 p m (S.T.)

POSTAL NOTICE.

Mails for Muscat, Jask, Bunder Abbas, Linga, Henjam, Dubai, Bushire and Charbar, will be closed at the Bombay G. P. O. at 7-30 a.m. on Sunday the 30th December. Registered letters and parcels will be accepted up to 6-30 p.m, on Saturday, the 29th December, 1917.

ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

The Fourth Sessions of this Conference will be held in Bombay, at the Bowen Memorial Hall, Lamington Road, Girgaon, on the 27th, 28th, & 29th, December, 1917. The opening address will be delivered on the 27th, at 12-30 o'clock. Delegates from all parts of India and Burma are expected.

FRESH AIR EXCURSION.

Under the auspices of the Social Service League, a party of about 135 boys belonging to the working classes and studying in night schools conducted by the League and the Ideal Seminary, were taken on Sunday last to Juvem in Shet Narottam Murarji Gokuldas's bungalow for a fresh air excursion. Shet Mulji Lakshmidas, cotton-broker of Messrs. Tata Sons & Co., has kindly promised to pay the expenses of the excursion.

TOM MELBOURNE'S CHRISTMAS PANTOMIME.

The grand Christmas pantomime, "Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp," now running at the Palace of Varieties, is drawing crowded houses nightly. It is one of those bright pantomimes that make one long to see them over and over again, and it is without doubt one of the funniest pantomimes ever seen in Bombay. The talented Gaiety artists under Mr. Tom Melbourne again played it before crowded houses last night. Tom Melbourne as "Abanazar, the Magician" kept the audience thoroughly alive and hardly a minute passed by unbroken by laughter, his topical patter sending the audience into continued peals of laughter. Eileen Melbourne as "The Widow Twanky" played her part admirably. Rosie Castello acquitted herself most creditably as "Aladdin," and proved one of the best principal boys seen on our theatres. Peggy Castello made a charming princess of China, while Laura Dismond and J. Wilson also performed their respective parts very well. The scenic effects were gorgeous and these together with excellent costumes, crisp dialogue, merry songs and fascinating dances and topical patter went to make up a really bright pantomime, which is worth seeing.

The next week's great attraction at the Palace of Varieties is "Ali Baba," which is advertised as "A Nonsensical Version of the Forty Thieves."

"OUR DAY" FUND.

The following fresh list of subscriptions to the "Our Day" Fund, Bombay, has been issued:—

Amount already acknowledged: Rs. 4,77,627-15-2; Proceeds of a Concert held by the Pupils of the Young Ladies' High School, 1,600; From sale to H. H. the Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra of Crystal Box sent out by Her Majesty the Queen, Rs. 1,000; Proceeds of a performance given at the Excelsior Theatre by the Cathedral High School Rs. 662-4; The New Great Eastern Spg. & Wvg. Co., Ltd., Rs. 500; The New City of Bombay Manufg: Co., Ltd., Rs. 500; The Colaba Land & Mill Co., Ltd. Rs. 500; Chanda Ramji Hindu Girls High School, Rs. 403-8; Through Hon. Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Rs. 360; The Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Rs. 250; Mr. Mithabhai Nathoo, Rs. 200; Through Mr. G. L. Chard, G. I. P. Railway, Rs. 118-2; Mr. John Lennox, Rs. 100; Staff of the Revenue Financial & Separate Departments of the Secretariat Rs. 81; Mr. R. H. Tucker, Rs. 25; Dr. F. N. Bisni, Rs. 15; Mr. H. E. Harrington, Rs. 15; Mr. J. Allan, Rs. 15; Collection from Bombay Prarthna Samaj, Rs. 10-9; Dr. Dorab F. Bisni, Rs. 10; Collection from Greaves Cotton & Co's electrical workmen at Poona, Rs. 8-8; Dr. K. S. Engineer, Rs. 5; Captain W. Mitchell, Rs. 5; total Rs. 4,83,911-14-2.

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FISCAL AUTONOMY DEMANDED.

H. E. Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India, and the Right Honourable E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, granted an interview to the Hon Mr. M. A. Jinnah on Tuesday, and on Wednesday received addresses from ten deputations and granted interviews to Mr. H. A. Wadya, Mr. H. N. Apte, Mr. V. R. Gupte, and Professor V. G. Kale on behalf of the Deccan Sabha, to the Rev. Canon D. L. Joshi, Mr. T. Buell, Mr. P. Bunter, and Dr. L. L. Joshi on behalf of the Indian Christian Association; and to the Hon. Sir D. E. Wacha, Mr. N. M. Samarth and Mr. N. V. Gokhale on behalf of the Hon Sir D. E. Wacha and nine others. The deputations were introduced to H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India by Mr. L. Robertson, Secretary to the Bombay Government, Political Department. Seated on the platform with H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu were the Earl of Donoughmore, Mr. C. H. Roberts, M.P., Sir William Duke, and the Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu and others.

The first deputation that waited yesterday upon H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India was from the Bombay Presidency Association. It was headed by the Hon. Sir Dinsha Wacha, President of the Association, who read the address, and the other members present were Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Mr. N. M. Samarth and Mr. J. B. Petit (Hon. Secretaries); Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Mr. W. A. Chambers, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, Mr. D. N. Bahadurji, Mr. N. V. Gokhale and Mr. H. A. Wadya (Vice-President's), and the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel (member of the Council of the Association).

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION REPRESENTATION.

The complaints of educated Indians in regard to the existing system of administration relate mainly to its cumbersomeness, exclusiveness, expensiveness, secrecy, illiberal and mistaken exercise of executive discretion, excessive centralisation of legislative and executive power calculated to impair the authority, influence and efficiency of Provincial Governments and to unduly hamper the progress of the Provinces, and, above all, absence of responsibility to the tax-payer, and hence its inefficiency from the point of view of its incapebility to the people. Add to these, the infirmities and hardships to the people of India, of a system akin to that of absentee landlordism in the form of a nominal—shadowy—unreal—Parliamentary control of Indian affairs. This last, as said above, is an addition to the defects from which the Company's Government suffered and of which educated Indians of the time bitterly complained, those defects being substantially the same as have formed the subject-matter of Indian grievances since the Crown assumed direct responsibility for the governance of India.

PRESENT EXCESSIVELY CENTRALISED SYSTEM.

The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association beg to urge upon His Majesty's Government, through Your Excellency and you, Sir, that what the leaders of public opinion in Bombay suggested, so far back as in 1852-53, is still the crying need of India. The Local Governments must be freed from the shakles of an excessively centralised system of Government and made autonomous in the real sense of the term and the whole constitutional machinery of the Government of India must be so liberalised as to be "more directly responsible," and hence "more efficient," and "more acceptable to the governed." It is *not* enough that the people should have a more consultative voice in the administration of their own country. They must have an effective voice in that administration. It is *not* enough that the Government should be responsive, in its discretion, to the wishes of the people. It must be made, in some way, responsible to the representatives of the tax-payers so as to be "more acceptable to the governed." This is, in substance, the gist of the reform formulated by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League,—a reform essentially the same, in broad outline, as that suggested by the thinking and independent portion of the Indian public in Bombay in their Petition to Parliament sixty-five years ago. It is obvious that the reform then suggested is long overdue and the Council of the Association trust that British statesmanship will now at any rate deem it right and proper to initiate that reform in the existing system of government without any of the hesitancy of over-cautious conservatism.

It is this hesitancy which has, on every occasion, led to timid and halting measures of reform in the system of Government in India, in addition to the fact that Parliament has been unable, on account of difficulties, complications and distractions nearer home, to give undivided attention to the affairs of India whenever the Indian problem came before it for solution, with the result that the measures devised have suffered from the over-cautiousness of the authorities in India. For want of a correct perspective and of a proper understanding of the situation and of insight into the real inwardness of outward manifestations, difficulties are started or magnified by the authorities on the spot, and their imaginary "lions in the path" have prevented free play to courageous British statesmanship in its honest desire and endeavour to uplift this country to a higher plane of political life and national existence. In some matters of great importance to the national advancement of India, not only has no forward move been made, but the steps taken in the name of reform have either been painfully halting and have stopped far short of the immediately attainable objective, or have even amounted to a turning back from the straight path of progress. In this connection, the Council beg to draw pointed attention to the following three matters:—

(1) The admission of Indians to the higher branches of the Public Service in their own country; (2) the Morley-Minto reform of the Legislative Councils; and (3) the promotion of self-government in India.

REFUSAL TO HOLD SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

It is hardly necessary here to demonstrate by facts and figures the gross inequality, in practice, which, on account of the refusal to hold simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in England and in India, prevents educated Indians from competing on equal terms with their English fellow-subjects and thus artificially and unjustly limits their number to an insignifiiant proportion of the total strength of the Indian Civil Service, and thereby excludes them practically as a class from the higher rungs of the ladder in the public service of their native land. This has been a standing grievance with Indians for generations past. Their demand in this behalf, apart from the inherent justice of their claim, is based on economic and political grounds.

FAILURE OF MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS.

In regard to the admission of Indians to the Legislative Councils, it is scarcely necessary to go beyond what is known as the Morley-Minto reform of 1909. In submitting their detailed proposals to Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, the Government of India claimed that they "will really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation, but of actual everyday administration." The Secretary of State agreed that this claim was abundantly justified. But experience has shown that the hopes held out have not been realised on account of the halting provisions of the Act and the illiberal regulations which were framed under it. Even so conservative a critic of Indian administration as Sir Valentine Chirol is compelled to admit in his recent letter to the "Times" that this is the case. "The relative failure of the Morley-Minto reforms," he writes, "was due to the fact that whereas they porfessed to secure to Indians a larger share in the conduct of public affairs, they actually gave little more than increased opportunities of criticism and obstructing the executive without an increase of responsibility." From the Indian point of view, the results of the reforms have been even less satisfactory. Questions and resolutions have been disallowed without any cause assigned; even the publication of the disallowed matter has been declared a breach of council etiquette; the answers to questions which were allowed to be put, have been, as a rule, scrappy and uninforming; carefully prepared speeches of non-official members, on resolutions on matters of public interest, have been met not infrequently by replies which left important points untouched; the fate of most of the resolutions introduced by non-official members has been defeated at the hands of a combination of official and some of the nominated members. Thus the measure has proved illusory and the real grievance of the people in regard to these Legislative Councils, before the Act of 1909 was passed, has remained practically untouched.

"OVERCAUTIOUS CONSERVATISM."

The Council of the Association submit that, in view of the growing self-consciousness of an enlightened and a restive Indian public, this spirit of "overcautious conservatism," with its inevitable consequences of snail-like progress and even retrogression, is politically unwise; and the Council are merely voicing the opinion of the thinking portion of the Indian public when they earnestly represent to Your Excellency and you, Sir, that the only remedy for ensuring the political education of the people and their rapid advance is to put the executive Government substantially under the control of the elect of the people. In order that the Provincial Governments may be enabled to take this forward step, it is necessary to free them from the fetters of the present excessively centralised system of Government. This is an old grievance of the people of Bombay too long left unredressed.

The deputation from the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, Bombay, was led by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, and the other members of the deputation present were the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. K. R. Master, Mr. D. P. Gaikwad, Mr. S. D. Kamble, Mr. B. D. Kelsaker, Dr. Purshotam G. Gosainji, Mr. C. L. Untekar, and Mr. Samant Nanji. The address was read by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar.

INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER.

The third deputation represented the Indian Merchants, Chamber and Bureau. It was headed by Sir V. D. Thackersey, who read the address, and the other members present were: The Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, the Hon. Sir D. E. Wacha, the Hon. Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, the Hon. Mr. Purshotamdas Thakoredas, the Hon. Mr. Manmohandas Ramji, Mr. Devidas M. Thackersey, Mr. Naranji Haribhai Mr. S. E. Warden and Mr. S. S. Mehta.

The Address of the Indian Merchants' Chamber said:—

It is of supreme importance to the healthy and natural growth of Indian Commerce and Industries that India should have a free hand in the determination of her own policy and that no considerations other than the best interests of the country should prevail. Under existing circumstances the subordination of the Indian administration in matters of trade and industry to external and more powerful influence have been found to be a great evil prejudicial to Indian welfare. The first step, we therefore venture to submit in any scheme of reforms that may be adumbrated must be the adequate representation of Indian Commerce and Industry in the supreme as well as Provincial Legislative Councils. At present elective rights to the Imperial Legislative Council are enjoyed only by the European Communities of Bengal and Bombay who send one representative each to the said Council. The Indian Commercial Community enjoys no such privilege but has one member nominated by Government alternately from Bengal and Bombay. We submit that the privileges of electing representatives should be conceded also to the Indian Commercial and Industrial communities in proportion to their vast and varied interests which in our opinion far exceed the interests and stakes of the European commu[illegible]

DEMAND FOR FISCAL AU[illegible]

Besides this, there are In[illegible] problems on which the Chan[illegible] to draw your attention. I[illegible] importance to the free and [illegible] of Indian Commerce and I[illegible] the Government of India should [illegible] complete fiscal autonomy. So far, fiscal autonomy has been found in the case of the Colonies to the perfectly compatible with their Colonial interests, pure and simple without clashing in any way with the harmonious development of Inter-Imperial relations. There ought to be nothing to prevent India from similarly bearing her full share of Imperial responsibility without sacrificing her own interests. Whilst on this subject, may we beg leave to express our whole-hearted gratitude for the removal of the grave injustice which India had been subjected to, for well nigh twenty years on account of the preferential duty on imported cotton goods. We have also noted with the highest satisfaction the emphatic pronouncement made by your distinguished predecessor in office at the luncheon in honour of the Imperial Conference given by the Empire Producers' Associations in London, which augurs well for the future.

An influential and large section of the Indian Commercial Community is of opinion that the time has come for the State to undertake the management of all Indian Railways. This is considered essential in order to encourage the growth of local Industries which is found to be difficult under the present system of company management, with a board in England.

A NOTE ON REFORMS.

The fourth deputation consisted of the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, who read the address, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Mr. Hormusji A. Wadya, Mr. W. A. Chambers, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. N. V. Gokhale and Mr. N. M. Samarth.

A Note justifying and supplementing the Congress-League scheme of reform with an introductory representation signed by the Hon. Sir Dinsha Wacha, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Mr. C. H. Setalvad, Sir Balachandra Krishna, Mr. H. A. Wadia, Mr. W. A. Chambers, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh, the Hon. Mr. Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel, Mr. N. V. Gokhale and Mr. N. M. Samarth, has been submitted to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It reviews the Indian administration from 1858 by the light of the experience of Lord Canning and the first Lord Elgin as Viceroys and of subsequent history and concludes as follows:—

(1) That the lesson of the Mesopotamia muddle is a lesson of the present system of bureaucratic administration in India. (2) Under the present constitution of the Government of India there is nobody of sufficient independence to protect the tax-payers of India and to that have been mainly due India's financial embarrassments. (3) The British mercantile and monied interests, as the late Lord Lawrence among others affirmed, have operated upon India in their own interests without due regard to the interests of the people. (4) The British members of the Indian Civil Service, though a capable, conscientious and upright class of officials, have become a close bureaucracy wedded to routine, unable to move with the times, and impatient of outside criticism.

The Note affirms that the 'scheme of the National Congress and the Moslem League proposes no more and no less than the change in the present administrative machinery which is practically run by the Indian Civil Service. A system of administration which seems on the surface to run smoothly may have in it all the elements of a catastrophe and is more to be feared than the reforms which the Congress and Moslem League scheme proposes for the quiet and peaceful evolution of India's destiny as one of the most important membebrs, if not the most important membber of the British Empire.

EUROPEAN OPPOSITION.

Referring to the European opposition, the Note says that there is no ground for the fear that the interests of the European community will be jeopardised if effect be given to the Congress-League scheme, as provision is made to safeguard by election the interests of every important community which is in a minority. Examining the claim of the European community that India has profited from British capital, trade, industry, commercial enterprise, and that, therefore, the British element should preponderate in the Indian administration, the Note quotes the evidence recorded by the Parliamentary Committee of 1871-74 on Indian Finance, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Lord Lawrence and others, to prove that the traditions behind the European mercantile interests in India were not of an unselfish character. The Note lays down that any scheme of reform in the Indian administration to be beneficial must first secure to the people a government responsible not merely in name but in reality, and, secondly, must be broad-based on a sufficiently wide franchise so as to give to all classes of people a substantial but effective share in the government of their own country. The Note goes on to examine from the Parliament downwards to the "the man on the spot" to show where the present system of administration has lacked and what is the nature and extent of the reforms required to secure the two objects stated above. The British Parliament, though the final arbiter of the destinies of the people of India under the British Crown, has seldom found time and inclination to devote serious attention to Indian questions and carry out root and branch reform. The Secretary of State for India is the responsible authority in England, but his responsibility in its actual discharge has come to mean in most cases the conservation of his party interests where they are opposed to Indian interests, and in other cases more or less implicit trust in "The men on the spot" in India. The members of the Civil Service, who are "The men on the spot," foreseeing the power in the Government and wielding the destiny of the people; are apt, being trained in an unhealthy atmosphere of district administration, to contract and do generally contract a habit of mind which makes them unsympathetic and distrustful, and the people regard them as such. As they rise in the service they carry that habit of mind with them.

REAL FRIENDS OF THE MASSES.

Discussing the question as to who knows the masses, the "men on the spot" or educated Indians, the Note cites the opinions of Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, and the instances of the Orissa famine of 1866, and the financial muddle relating to the budget of the expenses of the Afghan War of 1879, to prove that it is the Indians who can claim to speak at first hand and of their own personal and intuitive knowledge and experience of the feelings and thoughts of the people, their prejudices, their habits of thought, their ways of life, their ambitions and their aspirations. The failure of the revenue officers and the members of the Secretariat in the Bombay Presidency to give relief to the Mahratta ryots in the Deccan, who were on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin by reason of their growing indebtedness due to several causes, among the chief of which was the rigidity and rigorous character of the land revenue system, does not show that the Civil Servants are the friends of the ryot and are better fitted to represent, and care for, him. Reviewing the question of land revenue administration the Note condemns the system of fixing the land tax according to purely theoretical rules involving mere guess work. Turning to education the Note states that though agitation for free and compulsory education began fifty years ago nothing has yet been done. The Note then goes on to cite the instances of the official policy in plague measures, of the partition of Bengal the Government of India Consolidation Act Amendment Bill; as showing the Government's disregard to educated Indian opinion. Reference to the Indian Emigration Acts, otherwise called the cooly acts, and the facts of the history relating to the Inland Emigration Acts of the Government of India in the interests and for benefit of the British planters in Assam, will disprove the claim that the British residents in India, whether official or non-official, and no educated Indians are the real friends and representatives of the masses of the people of this country. It was educated Indian opinion that prevailed upon Government to stop indentured labour.

EXCLUSION OF INDIANS FROM HIGHER SERVICES.

Regarding the higher services, strict and systematic exclusion of the Indians has been followed from the days of the East India Company to the present time. In the Indian Civil Service, out of 1324 Indian Civil Servants, but 64 are Indians or only 4.8 per cent. and how have these been treated? They have been as far as possible debarred from the higher executive appointments and have been more or less compelled to go in the judicial service, and in the judicial service while the European civil servants have been appointed judges of the High Court whether they were well versed in law or not, Indian civil servants have been passed over. In fact to become a member of the Indian Civil Service has for an Indian come to mean generally speaking rotting and deteriorating in the service for want of encouragement and due promotion to the top. The argument that because local self-government in India is a failure and therefore the country is unfit for self-government falls to the ground because, firstly in no European country, in no Asiatic country except India, and in no colony can it be said that local self-government has been a success, secondly it is not true that local self-government has been a failure in India. What is true is that it has not succeeded to the extent desired and that is because the bureaucracy has obstructed its path of progress at every step and tried to keep power in its hands and discouraged independence among the local bodies. The pet theory of conservative officialdom and Anglo-Indian narrowness that India is unfit for self-government because of innumerable castes, races and sects, is exploded by the fact that our Indian soldiers divided by caste and religion have felt the bond of unity promoted by crossing the sea in spite of caste rules and by going to the front and fighting for the Empire. Given a common ideal, a common sphere of work, aspiring for something high such as self-government, and all religious and racial defferences will dissolve in time. There were castes and races and religious antagonism in England, France, Germany, Italy, etc., but a free scope for common political action and ideals has served to bring about political union, while at the same time removing or mitigating the influence of racial and religious differences.

WHAT IS WANTED.

"Substantial steps" for the "Progressive realisation of responsible government for India" promised in the announcement of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on August 20th 1917 should not fall short of the essential features of the Congress-League scheme, embodying provincial autonomy as foreshadowed in the Delhi despatch of August, 1911, popular elected majority of 4/5th in the legislative councils, freedom of the Government of India from the control of Whitehall in regard to its spending powers, reduction or increase of taxation and other matters relating to finance, and remodelling of the executive councils with half the number of be non-official Indians elected by the elected members of the legislative councils. Supplementing the Congress-League scheme reform in the district organisation has to be undertaken in the direction of creating a consultative council with the Collector as its ex-officio president and as its members the chief executive engineer, the chief medical officer, the police superintendent, the inspector of schools, and the district forest officer and an equal number of non-officials. Local self-government should be strenously promoted and there should be a local government board for the province. The constitution of the Municipalities should be liberalised and their powers and resources increased. A whole-hearted effort should be made to resuscitate the village panchayat, which should be elective, every adult villager having a vote.

The next deputation was from Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy and other members of the Parsi community. It was headed by Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, who read the address, and the other members of the deputation present were: the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Hon. Sir Dinshah Petit, Mr. Kershasp R. Dadachanji, the Hon. Mr. Phiroz K. Sethna, Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit and Mr. Jehangir J. Vimadalal and Mr. H. P. Mody.

SAIDARS OF GUJERAT

The sixth deputation was from the Talukdars and Sardars of Gujerat. It was led by the Hon. Thakore of Kerwada, who read the address, and the other members of the deputation present were: Sardar Parsinji, Thakore of Amod; Sardar Sursinhji, Thakore of Utelia; Sardar Moosinghji, Thakore of Koona; Sardar Rao Bahadur Motilal Chunilal of Broach; Sardar Storo of Surat; Sardar Peer Saheb Shuwa of Broach; the Thakore of Gangad and Sardar Amarsinghji, Thakore of Moger.

In the course of the address of the Sardars and Talukdars of Gujerat it was stated:—

"We beg leave also to mention that the Bombay Government has recently created the title and class of Sardars of Gujarat. The object in view, however, was to provide a suitable electorate to represent large landholders and some other interests, and to revive an old Indian title of honour. The class includes within its pale not only Thakors and landlords of aristocratic descent, but landholders and merchants with considerable incomes, and those who have rendered themselves conspicuous by pub-

(Continued on Supplement page.)

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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

MRS. BESANT'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

32ND SESSION IN CALCUTTA.

DEMAND FOR RESPONSIBLE SELF-GOVERNMENT.

AWAKENING OF INDIA'S POLITICAL SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS.

"AUTOCRACY AND BUREAUCRACY MUST PERISH IN INDIA AS WELL AS EUROPE."

DETERMINATION TO WIN HOME RULE.

"INDIA—NO LONGER ON KNEES FOR BOONS."

"ON HER FEET FOR RIGHTS."

SCHEME OF INDIAN AUTONOMY OUTLINED

MYTH OF INDIAN INEFFICIENCY EXPLODED

SUGGESTED DEPUTATION TO [illegible]

The following is the text of the presidential address of Mrs. Annie Besant delivered at the 32nd session of the Indian National Congress, which opened at Calcutta yesterday —

FELLOW-DELEGATES AND FRIENDS,—

Everyone who has preceded me in this chair has rendered his thanks in fitting terms for the gift which is truly said to be the highest that India has it in her power to bestow. It is the sign of her fullest love, trust and approval, and the one whom she seats in that chair is, for his year of service, her chosen leader. But if my predecessors found fitting words for their gratitude, in what words can I voice mine, whose debt to you is so overwhelmingly greater than theirs? For the first time in Congress history, you have chosen as your President one who, when your choice was made, was under the heavy ban of Government displeasure, and who lay interned as a person dangerous to public safety. While I was humiliated, you crowned me with honour; while I was slandered, you believed in my integrity and good faith; while I was crushed under the heel of bureaucratic power, you acclaimed me as your leader; while I was silenced and unable to defend myself, you defended me, and work for me release. I was proud to serve you in lowliest fashion, but you lifted me up and placed me before the world as your chosen representative. I have no words with which to thank you, no eloquence with which to repay my debt. My deeds must speak for me, for words are too poor. I turn your gift into service to the Motherland; I consecrate my life anew to her in worship by action. All that I have and am, I lay on the altar of the Mother, and together we shall cry, more by service than by words, Vande Mataram.

There is, perhaps, one value in your election of me in this crisis of India's destiny, seeing that I have not the privilege to be Indian-born, but come from that little island in the northern seas which has been, in the West, the builder-up of free institutions. The Aryan emigrants, who spread over the lands of Europe, carried with them the seeds of liberty sown in their mood in their Asian cradle-land. Western historians trace the self-rule of the Saxon villages to their earlier prototypes in the East and see the growth of English liberty as up-springing from the Aryan root of the free and self-contained village communities.

Its growth was crippled by Norman feudalism there, as its millennia-nourished security here was smothered by the East India Company. But in England it burst its shackles and nurtured a liberty-loving people, and a free Commons' House. Here, it similarly burgeoned out into the Congress activities, and more recently into those of the Muslim League, now together blossoming into Home Rule for India. The England of Milton, Cromwell, Sydney, Burke, Paine, Shelley, Wilberforce, Gladstone; the England that sheltered Mazzini, Kossuth, Kropotkin, Stepniak, and that welcomed Garibaldi; the England that is the enemy of tyranny, the foe of autocracy, the lover of freedom, that is the England I would fain here represent to you to-day. To-day, when India stands erect, no suppliant people, but a Nation, self-conscious, self-respecting, determined to be free; when she stretches out her hand to Britain and offers friendship not subservience, co-operation not obedience; to-day let me, Western-born but in spirit Eastern, cradled in England but Indian by choice and adoption, let me stand as the symbol of union between Great Britain and India, a union of hearts and free choice, not of compulsion, and therefore of a tie which cannot be broken, a tie of love and of mutual helpfulness, beneficial to both Nations and blessed by God.

GONE TO THE PEACE.

India's great leader, Dadabhai Naoroji, has left his mortal body and is now one of the company of the Immortals, who watch over and aid India's progress. He is with W. C. Bonnerjee, and Ranade, and A. O. Hume, and Henry Cotton, and Pherozeshah Mehta, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale—the great men who, in Swinburne's noble verse, are the stars which lead us to Liberty's altar:

These, O men, shall ye honour,
Liberty only and these,
For thy sake and for all men's and mine,
Brother, the crowns of them shine,
Lighting the way to her shrine,
That our eyes may be fastened upon her.

That our hands may encompass her knees,
Not for me to praise him in feeble words of reverence and of homage. His deeds praise him, and his service to his Country is his abiding glory. Our gratitude will best paid by following in his footsteps, alike in his splendid courage and his unfaltering devotion so that we may win; the Home Rule which he longed to see while with us, and shall see, ere long, from the other world of Life, in which he dwells to-day.

THE WAR AND PRE-WAR MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

The Great War, into the whirlpool of which Nation after Nation has been drawn, has entered on its fourth year. The rigid censorship which has been established makes it impossible for any outside the circle of Governments to forecast its duration, but to me, speaking for a moment not as a politician, but as a student of spiritual laws, to me its end is sure. For the true object of this war is to prove the evil of, and to destroy, autocracy and the enslavement of one Nation by another, and to place on sure foundations the God-given Right to Self-Rule and Self-Development of every Nation, and the similar right of the Individual, of the smaller Self, so far as is consistent with the welfare of the larger Self of the Nation. The forces which make for the prolongation of autocracy—the rule of one—and the even deadlier bureaucracy—the rule of a close body welded into an iron system—these have been gathered together in the Central Powers of Europe—as of old in Ravana—in order that they may be destroyed; for the New Age cannot be opened until the Old passes away. The new civilisation of Righteousness and Justice, and therefore of Brotherhood, of ordered Liberty, of Peace, of Happiness, cannot be built up until the elements are removed which have brought the old civilisation crashing about our ears. Therefore is it necessary that the War shall be fought out to its appointed end, and that no premature peace shall leave its object unattained. Autocracy and bureaucracy must perish utterly, in East and West, and, in order that their germs may not re-sprout in the future, they must be discredited in the minds of men. They must be proved to be less efficient than the Governments of Free Peoples, even in their favourite game of war, and their iron machinery—which at first brings outer prosperity and success—must be shown to be less lasting and effective than the living and flexible organisations of democratic peoples. They must be proved failures before the world, so that the glamour of superficial successes may be destroyed for ever. They have had their day and their place in evolution, and have done their educative work. Now they are out-of-date, unfit for survival, and must vanish away.

When Great Britain sprang to arms, it was in defence of the freedom of a small Nation, guaranteed by treaties, and the great principles she proclaimed electrified India and the Dominions. They all sprang to her side without question, without delay; they heard the voice of old England, the soldier of Liberty, and it thrilled their hearts. All were unprepared, save the small territorial army of Great Britain, due to the genius and foresight of Lord Haldane, and the readily mobilised army of India, hurled into the fray by the swift decision of Lord Hardinge. The little army of Britain fought for time, fought to stop the road to Paris, the heart of France, fought, falling back step by step, and gained the time it fought for, till India's sons stood on the soil of France, were flung to the front, rushed past the exhausted regiments who cheered them with failing breath, charged the advancing hosts, stopped the retreat, and joined the British army in forming that unbreakable line which wrestled to the death through two fearful winters—often, these soldiers of the tropics, waist-deep in freezing mud—and knew no surrender.

India, with her clear vision, saw in Great Britain the champion of Freedom, in Germany the champion of despotism. And she saw rightly. Rightly she stood by Great Britain, despite her own lack of freedom and the coercive legislation which outrivalled German despotism, knowing these to be temporary, because un-English, and therefore doomed to destruction; she spurned the lure of German gold and rejected German appeals to revolt. She offered men and money; her educated classes, her Vakils, offered themselves as Volunteers, pleaded to be accepted. Then the never-sleeping distrust of Anglo-India rejected the offer, pressed for money, rejected men. And, slowly, educated India sank back, depressed and disheartened, and a splendid opportunity for knitting together the two Nations was lost.

Early in the War I ventured to say that the War could not end until England recognised that autocracy and bureaucracy must perish in India as well as in Europe. The good Bishop of Calcutta, with a courage worthy of his free race, lately declared that it would be hypocritical to pray for victory over autocracy in Europe and to maintain it in India. Now, it has been clearly and definitely declared that Self-Government is to be the objective of Great Britain in India, and that a substantial measure of it is to be given at once; when this promise is made good by the granting of the Reforms outlined last year in Lucknow, then the end of the War will be in sight. For the War cannot end till the death-knell of autocracy is sounded.

Causes, with which I will deal presently and for which India was not responsible, have somewhat obscured the first eager expressions of India's sympathy, and have forced her thoughts largely towards her own position in the Empire. But that does not detract from the immense aid she has given, and is still giving. It must not be forgotten that long before the present War, she had submitted—at first, while she had no power of remonstrance, and later, after 1885, despite the constant protests of Congress—to an ever-rising military expenditure, due partly to the amalgamation scheme of 1859, and partly to the cost of various wars beyond her frontiers, and to continually recurring frontier and trans-frontier expeditions, in which she had no real interest. They were sent out for supposed Imperial advantages, not for her own.

Between 1859 and 1904—45 years—Indian troops were engaged in thirty-seven wars and expeditions. There were ten wars: the two Chinese Wars of 1860 and 1900, the Bhutan War of 1865-65, the Abyssinian War of 1868, the Afghan War of 1878-79, and, after the massacre of the Kabul Mission, the second War of 1879-80, ending in an advance of the frontier, in the search for an ever receding "scientific frontier"; on this occasion the frontier was shifted, says Keene, "from the line of the Indus to the western slope of the Suleiman Range and from Peshawar to Quetta"; the Egyptian War of 1882, in which the Indian troops markedly distinguished themselves; the third Burmese War of 1885 ending in the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886; the invasions of Tibet in 1890 and 1904. Of Expeditions, or minor Wars, there were 27; to Sitana in 1858 on a small scale and in 1863 on a larger (the "Sitana Campaign"); to Nepal and Sikkim in 1859; to Sikkim in 1864; a serious struggle on the North-West Frontier in 1868; expeditions against the Lushais in 1871-72, the Duflas in 1874-75, the Nagas in 1875, the Afridis in 1877, the Rampa Hill Tribes in 1879, the Waziris and Nagas in 1881, the Akhas in 1884, and in the same year an expedition the Zhob Valley, and a second thither in 1890. In 1888 and 1889, there was another expedition against Sikkim, against the Akozais (the Black Mountain expedition) and against the Hill Tribes of the North-East, and in 1890 another Black Mountain Expedition, with a third in 1892. In 1890 came the expedition to Manipur, and in 1891, there was another expedition against the Lushais, and one into the Miranzai Valley. The Chitral Expedition occupied 1894-95, and the serious Tirah Campaign, in which 40,000 men were engaged, came in 1897 and 1898. The long list—which I have closed with 1904—ends with the expeditions against the Mahsuds in 1901, against the Kabalis in 1902, and the invasion of Tibet, before noted. All these events explain the rise in military expenditure, and we must add to them the sending of Indian troops to Malta and Cyprus in 1878—a somewhat theatrical demonstration—and the expenditure of some £2,000,000, to face what was described as "the Russian Menace" in 1884. Most of these were due to Imperial not to Indian policy, and many of the burdens imposed were protested against by the Government of India, while others were encouraged by ambitious Viceroys. I do not think that even this long list is complete.

Ever since the Government of India was taken over by the Crown, India has been regarded as an Imperial military asset and training ground, a position from which the jealousy of the East India Company had largely protected her, by insisting that the army it supported should be used for the defence and in the interests of India alone. Her value to the Empire for military purposes would not so seriously have injured at once her pride and her finances, if the natural tendencies of her martial races had been permitted their previous scope; but the disarming of the people, 20 years after the assumption of the Government by the Crown, emasculated the Nation, and the elimination of races supposed to be unwarlike, or in some cases too warlike to be trusted, threw recruitment more and more to the north, and lowered the physique of the Bengalis and Madrasis, on whom the Company had largely depended.

The superiority of the Panjab, on which Sir Michael O'Dwyer so vehemently insisted the other day, is an artificial superiority, created by the British system and policy, and the poor recruitment elsewhere, on which he laid offensive insistence, is due to the same system and policy, which largely eliminated Bengalis, Madrasis and Mahrattas from the army. In Bengal, however, the martial type has been revived, chiefly in consequence of what the Bengalis felt to be the intolerable insult of the high-handed Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. On this Gopal Krishna Gokhale said:

Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India . . . . All India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal.

The spirit evoked showed itself in the youth of Bengal by a practical revolt, led by the elders while it was confined to Swadeshi and Boycott, and rushing on, when it broke away from their authority, into conspiracy, assassination and dacoity—as had happened in similar revolts with Young Italy, in the days of Mazzini, and with Young Russia in the days of Stepniak and Kropotkin. The results of their despair, necessarily met by the halter and penal servitude, had to be faced by Lord Hardinge and Lord Carmichael during the present War. Other results, happy instead of disastrous in their nature, was the development of grit and endurance of a high character, shewn in the courage of the Bengal lads in the serious floods that have laid parts of the Province deep under water, and in their compassion and self-sacrifice in the relief of famine. Their services in the present War—the Ambulance Corps and the replacement of its *materiel* when the ship carrying it sank, with the splendid services rendered by it in Mesopotamia; the recruiting of a Bengali regiment for active service, 900 strong, with another 900 reserves to replace wastage, and recruiting still going on—these are instances of the divine alchemy which brings the soul of good out of evil action, and consecrates to service the qualities evoked by rebellion.

In England, also, a similar result has been seen in a convict, released to go to go to the front, winning the Victoria Cross. It would be an act of statesmanship, as well as of divinest compassion, to offer to every prisoner and interned captive, held for political crime or on political suspicion, the opportunity of serving the Empire at the front. They might, if thought necessary, from a separate battalion or a separate regiment, under stricter supervision, and yet be given a chance of redeeming their reputation, for they are mostly very young.

The financial burden incurred in consequence of the above conflicts, and of other causes, now to be mentioned, would not have been so much resented, if it had been imposed by India on herself, and if her own sons had profited by her being used as a training ground for the Empire. But in this case, as in so many others, she has shared Imperial burdens, while not sharing Imperial freedom and power. Apart from this, the change which made the Army so ruinous a burden on the resources of the country was the system of "British reliefs," the using of India as a training ground for British regiments, and the transfer of the men thus trained, to be replaced by new ones under the short service system, the cost of the frequent transfers and their connected expenses being charged on the Indian revenues, while the whole advantage was reaped by Great Britain. On the short service system the Simla Army Commission declared:

The short service system recently introduced into the British army has increased the cost and has materially reduced the efficiency of the British troops [illegible]

President of The Thirty Second Session of the Indian National Congress which opened at Calcutta Yesterday.

as the years went on, to enormously increase her Reserves, so that she has had 400,900 men trained in, and at the cost of India.

In 1863 the Indian army consisted of 140,000 men, with 65,000 white officers. Great changes were made in 1885-1905, including the reorganisation under Lord Kitchener, who became Commander-in-Chief at the end of 1902. Even in this hasty review, I must not omit reference to the fact that Army Stores were drawn from Britain at enormous cost, while they should have been chiefly manufactured here, so that India might have profited by the expenditure. Lately under the necessities of War, factories have been turned to the production of munitions; but this should have been done long ago, so that India might have been enriched instead of exploited. The War has forced an investigation into her mineral resources, that might have been made for her own sake, but Germany was allowed to monopolise the supply of minerals that India could have produced and worked up, and would have produced and worked up had she enjoyed Home Rule. India would have been richer, and the Empire safer, had she been a partner instead of a possession. But this side of the question will come under the matters directly affecting merchants, and we may venture to express a hope that the Government help, extended to munition-factories in time of War, may be continued to industrial factories in time of Peace. The net result of the various causes abovementioned was that the expense of the Indian army rose by leaps and bounds, until, before the War, India was expending £21,000,000 as against the £28,000,000 expended by the United Kingdom, while the wealthy Dominions of Canada and Australia were spending only 1½ and 1½ millions respectively. (I am not forgetting that the United Kingdom was expending over £51,000,000 on her Navy, while India was free of that burden, save for a contribution of half a million.)

Since 1885, the Congress has constantly protested against the ever-increasing military expenditure, but the voice of the Congress was supposed to be the voice of sedition and of class ambition, instead of being, as it was, the voice of educated Indians, the most truly patriotic and loyal class of the population. In 1885, in the First Congress, Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu pointed out that military expenditure had been £11,463,000 in 1857 and had risen to £16,975,750 in 1884. Mr. D. E. Wacha ascribed the growth to the amalgamation scheme of 1859, and remarked that the Company in 1856 had an army of 254,000 men at a cost of 11½ millions, while in 1884, the Crown had an army of only 181,000 men at a cost of 17 millions. The rise was largely due to the increased cost of the European regiments, overland transport service, stores, pensions, furlough allowances, and the like, most of them imposed against the resistance of the Government of India, which complained that the changes were "made entirely, it may be said, from Imperial considerations, in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced." India paid nearly

(Continued on page 6.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

(Continued from page 5.)

£700,000 a year, for instance, for "Home Depots"—"Home" being England of course—in which lived some 20,000 to 22,000 British soldiers, on the plea that their regiments, not they, were serving in India. I cannot follow out the many increases cited by Mr. Wacha, but members can refer to his excellent speech.

Mr. Fawcett once remarked that when the East India Company was abolished the the English people became directly responsible for the Government of India. It cannot, I think, be denied that this responsibility has been so imperfectly discharged that in many respects the new system of Government compares unfavourably with the old. . . . There was at that time an independent control of expenditure which now seems to be almost entirely wanting.

Shortly after the Crown assumed the rule of India, Mr. Disraeli asked the House of Commons to regard India as "a great and solemn trust committed to it by an all-wise and inscrutable Providence." Mr. George Yule, in the Fourth Congress, remarked on this: "The 650 odd members had thrown the trust back upon the hands of Providence, to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best." Perhaps it is time that India should remember that Providence helps those who help themselves.

Year after the Congress continued to remonstrate against the cost of the army, until in 1902, after all the futile protests of the intervening years, it condemned an increase of pay to British soldiers in India which placed an additional burden on the Indian revenues of £786,000 a year, and pointed out that the British garrison was unnecessarily numerous, as was shown by the withdrawal of large bodies of British soldiers for service in South Africa and China. The very next year Congress protested that the increasing military expenditure was not to secure India against internal disorder or external attack, but in order to carry out an Imperial policy: the Colonies contributed little or nothing to the Imperial Military Expenditure, while India bore the cost of about one-third of the whole British Army in addition to her own Indian troops. Surely these facts should be remembered when India's military services to the Empire are now being weighed.

In 1904 and 1905, the Congress declared that the then military expenditure was beyond India's power to bear, and in the latter year prayed that the additional ten millions sterling, sanctioned for Lord Kitchener's reorganisation scheme, might be devoted to education and the reduction of the burden on the raiyats. In 1908, the burdens imposed by the British War Office since 1859 were condemned, and in the next year it was pointed out that the military expenditure was nearly a third of the whole Indian revenue, and was starving Education and Sanitation.

[illegible] reorganisation scheme [illegible] modification, [illegible] the regular army [illegible] of whom 75,000 were British; it was the money spent by India in maintaining this army for years in readiness for war, which made it possible for her to go to the help of Great Britain at the critical early period to which I alluded. She spent over £20 millions on the military services in 1914-15. In 1915-16 she spent £21.8 millions. In 1916-17 her military budget had risen to £22 millions, and it will be largely exceeded.

On this excess, the Viceroy has spoken very ominously. For the Indian War Loan (excluding Treasury Bills received in England) no less than £32 millions sterling have been received and more is coming in. The proceeds of the Loan go to the British Government in London, as part of India's special contribution of £100 millions. They have been utilised to meet War expenditure in India and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British Government. But the Governor-General says:

> This War expenditure will greatly exceed the amount allowed for the budget estimates, which were based on the best data then available, and we now expect that the excess will practically swallow up the whole of the amounts so far received on account of the Indian War Loan, over and above the £10 millions assumed in the estimate for budget purposes. . . . India is the financial pivot of the British Empire in the East. Thus, apart from the expenditure in India and Mesopotamia to which I have just referred, she is also undertaking the financing of large quantities of wheat, jute, manufactures, hides and numerous other essential commodities, which she is supplying to Great Britain, to the Dominions and to the Allied Governments. She is also providing funds on a considerable scale to East Africa and Persia, and has had on various occasions to assist Ceylon, Mauritius and Egypt by remittance of specie and otherwise; of course, we receive repayment for these services, but *as it is not made in India they necessarily constitute a continuing tax on our present resources here* (italics mine).

The taxes levied to meet the calculated deficit will by no means suffice to fill up the great gulf now yawning before us. On whom will those taxes be levied? It is not unlikely that those Zamindars who have been allying themselves with officials and English non-officials against their countrymen, may find themselves disappointed in their allies, and may begin to realise by personal experiences the necessity of giving to Indian legislatures, in which they will be fully represented, control over National expenditure.

Lord Hardinge, the last Viceroy of India who is ever held in loving memory here for his sympathetic attitude towards Indian aspirations, made a masterly exposition of India's War services in the House of Lords on the third of last July. He emphasised her pre-War services, shewing that though 19½ millions sterling was fixed as a maximum by the Nicholson Committee, that amount had been exceeded in 11 out of the last 13 budgets, while his own last budget had risen to 22 millions. During these 13 years the revenue had been only between 48 and 58 millions, once rising to 60 millions. Could any fact speak more eloquently of India's War services than this proportion of military expenditure compared with her revenue?

The Great War began on August 4th, and in that very month and in the early part of September, India sent an expeditionary force of three divisions—two infantry and one cavalry—and another cavalry division joined them in France in November. The first arrived, said Lord Hardinge, "in time to fill a gap that could not otherwise have been filled." He added pathetically: "There are very few survivors of those two splendid divisions of infantry." Truly, their homes are empty, but their sons shall enjoy in India the liberty for which their fathers died in France. Three more divisions were at once sent to guard the Indian frontier, while in September a mixed division was sent to East Africa, and in October and November two more divisions and a brigade of cavalry went to Egypt. A battalion of Indian infantry went to Mauritius, another to the Cameroons, and two to the Persian Gulf, while other Indian troops helped the Japanese in the capture of Tsingtau. 210,000 Indians were thus sent overseas. The whole of these troops were fully armed and equipped, and in addition, during the first few weeks of the War, India sent to England from her magazines "70 million rounds of small-arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles, and more than 550 guns of the latest pattern and type."

In addition to these, Lord Hardinge speaks of sending to England

> enormous quantities of *materiel*, . . . tents, boots saddlery, clothing, etc., but every effort was made to meet the ever-increasing demands made by the War Office, and it may be stated without exaggeration that India was bled absolutely white during the first few weeks of the War.

It must not be forgotten, though Lord Hardinge has not reckoned it, that all wastage has been more than filled up, and 450,000 men represent this head; the increase in units has been 360,000 and, including other military items, India had placed in the field up to the end of 1916 over a million of men.

In addition to this a British force of 80,000 was sent from India, fully trained and equipped at Indian cost. India receiving in exchange, many months later, 34 Territorial battalions and 29 batteries, "unfit for immediate employment on the frontier or in Mesopotamia, until they had been entirely re-armed and equipped, and their training completed."

Between the autumn of 1914 and the close of 1915, the defence of our own frontiers was a serious matter, and Lord Hardings says:

> The attitude of Afghanistan was for a long time doubtful, although I always had confidence in the personal loyalty of our ally the Amir; but I feared lest he might be overwhelmed by a wave of fanaticism, or by a successful Jehad of the tribes. . . . It suffices to mention that, although during the previous three years there had been no operations of any importance on the North-West Frontier, there were, betwee Nov. 29, 1914 and Sept. 5, 1915, no less than seven serious attacks on the North-West Frontier, all of which were effectively dealt with.

The military authorities had also to meet a German conspiracy early in 1915. 7,000 men arriving from Canada and the United States, having planned to seize points of military vantage in the Punjab, and in December of the same year another German conspiracy in Bengal, necessitating military preparations on land, and also naval patrols in the Bay of Bengal.

Lord Hardinge has been much attacked [illegible] Pamphlet Press in England and India, [illegible] people of the Mesopotamia Report in India became his love for India brought him hatred from Anglo-India. India has affirmed her confidence in him, and with India's verdict he may well rest satisfied.

I do not care to dwell on the Mesopotamia Commission and its condemnation of the bureaucratic system prevailing here. Lord Hardinge vindicated himself and India. The bureaucratic system remains undefended. I recall that bureaucratic inefficiency came out in even more startling fashion in connexion with the Afghan War of 1878-79 and 1879-80. In February 1880, the war charges were reported as under £4 millions, and the accounts showed a surplus of £2 millions. On April 8th, the Government of India reported: "Outgoing for War very alarming, far exceeding estimate," and on the 13th April "it was announced that the cash balances had fallen in three months from thirteen crores to less than nine, owing to 'excessive Military drain'. . . . On the following day [April 22] a despatch was sent out to the Viceroy, showing that there appeared a deficiency of not less than 5½ crores. This vast error was evidently due to an underestimate of war liabilities, which had led to such mis-information being laid before Parliament, and to the sudden discovery of inability to 'meet the usual drawings.'"

It seemed that the Government knew only the amount audited, not the amount spent. Payments were entered as "advances," though they were not recoverable, and "the great negligence was evidently that of the heads of departmental accounts." If such a mishap should occur under Home Rule, a few years hence—which heaven forbid—I shudder to think of the comments of the "Englishman" and the "Madras Mail" on the shocking inefficiency of Indian officials.

In September last, our present Viceroy, H. E. Lord Chelmsford, defended India against later attacks by critics who try to minimise her sacrifices in order to lessen the gratitude felt by Great Britain towards her, lest that gratitude should give birth to justice, and justice should award freedom to India. Lord Chelmsford placed before his Council "in studiously considered outline, a summary of what India has done during the past two years." Omitting his references to what was done under Lord Hardinge, as stated above, I may quote from him:

> On the outbreak of war of the 4,598 British officers on the Indian establishment, 880 who were at home on leave were detained by the War Office for service in Europe, 2,600 Combatant Officers have been withdrawn from India since the beginning of the War, excluding those who proceeded on service with their batteries or regiments. In order to make good these deficiencies and provide for war wastage the Indian Army Reserve of Officers was expanded from a total of 40, at which it stood on the 4th August, 1914, to one of 3,000.
>
> The establishment of Indian units has not only been kept up to strength, but has been considerably increased. There has been an augmentation of 20 per cent. in the cavalry and of 40 per cent. in the infantry, while the number of recruits enlisted since the beginning of the War is greater than the entire strength of the Indian Army as it existed on the 4th August, 1914.

Lord Chelmsford rightly pointed out:

> The Army in India has thus proved a great Imperial asset, and in weighing the value of India's contribution to the War, it should be remembered that India's forces were no hasty improvisation, but were an army in being, fully equipped and supplied, which had previously cost India annually a large sum to maintain.

Lord Chelmsford has stablished what he calls a "Man-Power Board," th duty of which is "to collect and co-ordinate all the facts, with regard to the supply of man-power in India." It has branches in all the Provinces. A steady flow of reinforcements supplies the wastage at the various fronts, and the labour required for engineering, transport, etc., is now organised in 20 corps in Mesopotamia and 25 corps in France. In addition 60,000 artisans, labourers and specialists are serving in Mesopotamia and East Africa, and some 20,000 menials and followers have also gone overseas. Indian medical practitioners have accepted temporary commissions in the Indian Medical Service to the number of 500. In view of this fact, due to Great Britain's bitter need of help, may we not hope that this Service will welcome Indians in time of peace as well as in time of war, and will no longer bar the way by demanding the taking of a degree in the United Kingdom? It is also worthy of notice that the I. M. S. officers in charge of district duties have been largely replaced by Indian medical men; this, again should continue after the War Another fact, that the Army Reserve of Officers has risen from 40 to 3,000, suggests that the throwing open of King's Commissions to qualified Indians should not be represented by a meagre nine. If English lads of 19 and 20 are worthy of King's Commissions—and the long roll of slain Second-Lieuts. proves it—then certainly Indian lads, since Indians have fought as bravely as Englishmen, should find the door thrown open to them equally widely in their own country, and the Indian Army should be led by Indian officers.

With such a record of deeds as the one I have baldly sketched, it is not necessary to say much in words as to India's support of Great Britain and her Allies. She has proved up to the hilt her desire to remain within the Empire, to maintain her tie with Great Britain. But if Great Britain is to call successfully on her man-power, as Lord Chelmsford suggests in his Man-Power Board, then must the man who fights or labours have a man's rights in his own land. The lesson which springs out of this War is that it is absolutely necessary for the future safety of the Empire that India shall have Home Rule. Had her Man-Power been utilised earlier there would have been no War, for none would have dared to provoke Great Britain and India to a contest. But her Man-Power cannot be utilised while she is a subject Nation. She cannot afford to maintain a large army, if she is to support an English garrison, to pay for their goings and comings, to buy stores in England at exorbitant prices and send them back again when England needs them. She cannot afford to train men for England, and only have their services for five years. She cannot afford to keep huge Gold Reserves in England, and be straitened for cash, while she lends to England out of her Reserves, taken from her over-taxation, £27,000,000 for War expenses, and this, be it remembered, before the great War Loans. I once said in England: [illegible] in India, freedom [illegible] willingly when her taxes [illegible] country and fertilise it, when [illegible] her people and thus increase [illegible] ductive power, when they [illegible] and create for her [illegible]

Great Britain needs India [illegible] India needs England, for [illegible] Peace as well as for safety. [illegible] Montagu has wisely stated [illegible] ment in War a Nation must [illegible] Peace". Therefore I say that [illegible] countries alike, the lesson [illegible] Home Rule for India.

Let me close this part of [illegible] laying at the feet of His [illegible] the loving homage of the [illegible] assembled, with the hope [illegible] ere long, we shall lay there [illegible] grateful homage of a free [illegible]

CAUSES OF THE NEW [illegible] INDIA.

Apart from the natural [illegible] thought between East and [illegible] influence of English education, [illegible] and ideals, the effect of travel [illegible] Japan and the United States [illegible] and other recognised causes for [illegible] ed outlook in India, there [illegible] cial forces at work during [illegible] years to arouse a New Spirit [illegible] to alter her attitude of mind [illegible] be summed up as:

(*a*) The Awakening of [illegible]
(*b*) Discussions abroad [illegible] and Imperial Reconstruction.
(*c*) Loss of Belief in the [illegible] the White Races.
(*d*) The Awakening of the [illegible]
(*e*) The Awakening of the [illegible] claim their Ancient Position.
(*f*) The Awakening of the [illegible]

Each of these causes has had [illegible] the splendid change of attitude [illegible] dian Nation, in the uprising [illegible] pride of country, of independence, [illegible] reliance of dignity, of self-[illegible] War has quickened the rate [illegible] of the world, and no country [illegible] enced the quickening more [illegible] Motherland.

(a) The Awakening of [illegible]

In a conversation I had [illegible] Minto, soon after his arrival [illegible] he discussed the so-called "unrest" [illegible] and recognised it as the inevitable [illegible] of English Education, of English [illegible] Democracy, of the Japanese victory [illegible] Russia, and of the changing conditions [illegible] the outer world. I was therefore surprised to read his remark that [illegible] nised, "frankly and publicly, that [illegible] aspirations were stirring in the hearts [illegible] the people, that they were part of a [illegible] movement common to the whole world, [illegible] that it was necessary to satisfy [illegible] reasonable extent by giving them a [illegible] share in the administration."

But the present movement in India [illegible] be very poorly understood if it be regarded [illegible] only in connexion with [illegible] movements in the East. The awakening of Asia [illegible] of a world-movement, which has been quickened into marvellous rapidity by the world-war. The world-movement [illegible] wards Democracy, and for the [illegible] from the breaking away of the [illegible] Colonies from Great Britian, [illegible] in 1776, and its sequel in the French Revolution of 1789. Needless to say that its root was in the growth of modern science, undermining the fabric of intellectual servitude, in the work of the Encyclopaedists, and in that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and of Thomas Paine. In the East, the swift changes in Japan, the success of the Japanese Empire against Russia, the downfall of the Manchu dynasty in China and the establishment of a Chinese Republic, the efforts at improvement in Persia, hindered by the interference of Russia and Great Britain with her growing ambition, and the creation of British and Russian "spheres of influence," depriving her of her just liberty, and now the Russian Revolution and the probable rise of a Russian Republic in Europe and Asia, have all entirely changed the conditions before existing in India. Across Asia, beyond the Himalayas, stretch free and self-ruling Nations. India no longer sees as her Asian neighbours the huge domains of a Tsar and a Chinese despot, and compares her condition under British rule with those of their subject populations. British rule profited by the comparison, at least until 1905, when the great period of repression set in. But in future, unless India wins Self-Government, she will look enviously at her Self-Governing neighbours, and the contrast will intensify her unrest.

But even if she gains Home Rule, as I believe she will, her position in the Empire will imperatively demand that she shall be strong as well as free. She becomes not only a vulnerable point in the Empire, as the Asian Nations evolve their own ambitions and rivalries, but also a possession to be battled for. Mr. Laing once said: "India is the milch-cow of England," a Kamadhenu, in fact, a cow of plenty. And if that view should arise in Asia, the ownership of the milch-cow would become a matter of dispute, as of old between Vashishtha and Vishvamitra. Hence India must be capable of self-defence both by land and sea. There may be a struggle for the primacy of Asia, for supremacy in the Pacific, for the mastery of Australasia, to say nothing of the inevitable trade-struggles, in which Japan is already endangering Indian industry and Indian trade, while India is unable to protect herself.

In order to face these larger issues with equanimity, the Empire requires a contented, strong, self-dependent and armed India, able to hold her own and to aid the Dominions, especially Australia, with her small population and immense unoccupied and undefended area. India alone has the man-power which can effectively maintain the Empire in Asia, and it is a short-sighted, a criminally short-sighted, policy not to build up her strength as a Self-Governing State within the Commonwealth of Free Nations under the British Crown. The Englishmen in India talk loudly of their interests; what can this mere handful do to protect their interests against attack in the coming years? Only in a free and powerful India will they be safe. Those who read Japanese papers know how strongly, even during the War, they pa[illegible]

Empire was on the anvil; what was to be India's place therein? The Dominions were proclaimed as partners; was India to remain a Dependency? Mr. Bonar Law bade the Dominions strike while the iron was hot; was India to wait till it was cold? India saw her soldiers fighting for freedom in Flanders, in France, in Gallipoli, in Asia Minor, in China, in Africa: was she to have no share of the freedom for which she fought At last she sprang to her feet and cried in the words of one of her noblest sons: "Freedom is my birthright; and I want it" The words 'Home Rule" became her Mantram. She claimed her place in the Empire.

Thus, while she continued to support and even to increase, her army abroad, fighting for the Empire and poured out her treasures as water for Hospital Ships, War Funds, Red Cross Organisations, and the gigantic War Loan, a dawning fear oppressed her, lest if she did not take order with her own household, success in the War for the Empire might mean decreased liberty for herself

The recognition of the right of the Indian Government to make its voice heard in Imperial matters, when, they were under discussion in an Imperial Conference, was a step in the right direction. But disappointment was felt that while other countries were represented by responsible Ministers, the representation in India's case was of the Government, of a Government irresponsible to her, and not the representative of herself No fault was found with the choice itself, but only with the non-representative character of the chosen, for they were selected by the Government, and not by the elected members of the Supreme Council This defect in the resolution moved by the Hon Khan Bahadur M. M Shafi on October 2, 1917, was pointed out by the Hon Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. He said:

> My Lord, in view of a situation so full of hope and promise, it seems to me that my friend's Resolution does not go far enough. He pleads for *official* representation at the Imperial Conference; he does not plead for *popular* representation. He urges that an address be presented to His Majesty's Government, through the Secretary of State for India, for official representation at the Imperial Council. My Lord, official representation may mean little or nothing. It may indeed be attended with some risk; for I am sorry to have to say—but say it I must—that our officials do not always see eye to eye with us as regards many great public questions which affect this country, and indeed their views judged from our standpoint, may sometimes seem adverse to our interests. At the same time, my Lord, I recognise the fact that the Imperial Conference is an assemblage of officials pure and simple, consisting of Ministers of the United Kingdom and of the self-governing Colonies. But, my Lord, there is an essential difference between them and ourselves. In their case, the Ministers are the elect of the people, their organ and their voice; answerable to them for their conduct and their proceedings. In our case, our officials are public servants in name, but in reality, they are the masters of the public. The situation may improve, and I trust it will, under the liberalising influence of your Excellency's beneficent administration; but we must take things as they are, and not indulge in building castles in the air which may vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision."

It was [illegible]

meet the change attitude of the Governments of India and Great Britain. But let none imagine that that consequential change of attitude connotes any change in her determination to win Home Rule. She is ready to consider terms of peace, but it must be "peace with honour," and honour in this connexion means Freedom. If this be not granted, an even more vigorous agitation will begin.

(c) Loss of Belief in the Superiority of the White Races.

The undermining of this belief dates from the spreading of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. Both bodies sought to lead the Indian people to a sense of the value of their own civilisation to pride in their past, creating self-respect in the present, and self-confidence in the future. They destroyed the unhealthy inclination to imitate the West in all things, and taught discrimination, to using only of what was valuable in western thought and culture, instead of a mere slavish copying of everything. Another great force was that of Swami Vivekananda, alike in his passionate love and admiration for India, and his exposure of the evils resulting from Materialism in the West. Take the following:

> Children of India, I am here to speak to you to-day about some practical things, and my object in reminding you about the glories of the past is simply this. Many times have I been told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing and that we should look to the future. That is true. But out of the past is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward, and make India brighter, greater, much higher than she ever was. Our ancestors were great. We must recall that. We must learn the elements of our being, the blood that courses in our veins; we must have faith in that blood, and what it did in the past; and out of that faith, and consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India yet greater than what she has been.

And again:

> I know for certain that millions, I say deliberately, millions, in every civilised land are waiting for the message that will save them from the hideous abyss of materialism, into which modern money-worship is driving them headlong, and many of the leaders of the new Social Movements have already discovered that Vedanta in its highest form can alone spiritualise their social aspirations.
>
> The process was continued by the admiration of Sanskrit literature expressed by European scholars and philosophers. But the effect of these was confined to the few and did not reach the many. The first great shock to their belief in white superiority came from the triumph of Japan over Russia, the facing of a huge European Power by a comparatively small eastern Nation, the exposure of the weakness and rottenness of the Russian leaders, and the contrast with their hardy warlike opponents, ready to sacrifice everything for their country.

The second great shock has come from the frank brutality of German theories of the State, and their practical carrying out in the treatment of conquered districts and the laying waste of evacuated areas in retreat. The teachings of Bismarck and their practical application in France, Flanders, Belgium Poland and Serbia have des[illegible]

[illegible] ASIA. Its varnish [illegible] thin veneer, [illegible] seen to be but a thin veneer, [illegible] religion a matter of form rather than of life, gazing from afar at the [illegible] heaps of dead and the hosts of the mutilated, science turned into destroyer and gave unrivalled instruments for killing and slaying, Asia may forgiven for thinking that on the whole she are [illegible] her own religions and her own civilisations.

But even deeper than the outer tumult of war has pierced the doubt as to the reality of the ideals of Liberty and Nationality so loudly proclaimed as the tocsin [illegible] amongst the cries of the champions of [illegible] James [illegible] truth, a short-sighted [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] experiences [illegible] [illegible] in distress [illegible] and [illegible] so that which [illegible] in [illegible] and that [illegible] By many years [illegible] have been [illegible] under the most [illegible] of promises and pledges to [illegible] that [illegible] condemned [illegible] main [illegible] and to [illegible] a system of political repression [illegible] of [illegible] because [illegible] in number and more highly [illegible] since [illegible] the carrying of the system to a wider [illegible] tens since the War for the liability of [illegible] and for the protection of Nationalities [illegible] gone deeper [illegible] the [illegible] A frank and courageous [illegible] [illegible] to the most [illegible] carrying [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] delayed, an [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS,

(Continued from page 5.)

£700,000 a year, for instance, for "Home Depots"—"Home" being England of course—in which lived some 20,000 to 22,000 British soldiers, on the plea that their regiments, not they, were serving in India. I cannot follow out the many increases cited by Mr. Wacha, but members can refer to his excellent speech.

Mr. Fawcett once remarked that when the East India Company was abolished the English people became directly responsible for the Government of India. It cannot, I think, be denied that this responsibility has been so imperfectly discharged that in many respects the new system of Government compares unfavourably with the old. . . . There was at that time an independent control of expenditure which now seems to be almost entirely wanting.

Shortly after the Crown assumed the rule of India, Mr. Disraeli asked the House of Commons to regard India as "a great and solemn trust committed to it by an all-wise and inscrutable Providence." Mr. George Yule, in the Fourth Congress, remarked on this: "The 650 odd members had thrown the trust back upon the hands of Providence, to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best." Perhaps it is time that India should remember that Providence helps those who help themselves.

Year after the Congress continued to remonstrate against the cost of the army, until in 1902, after all the futile protests of the intervening years, it condemned an increase of pay to British soldiers in India which placed an additional burden on the Indian revenues of £786,000 a year, and pointed out that the British garrison was unnecessarily numerous, as was shown by the withdrawal of large bodies of British soldiers for service in South Africa and China. The very next year Congress protested that the increasing military expenditure was not to secure India against internal disorder or external attack, but in order to carry out an Imperial policy: the Colonies contributed little or nothing to the Imperial Military Expenditure, while India bore the cost of about one-third of the whole British Army in addition to her own Indian troops. Surely these facts should be remembered when India's military services to the Empire are now being weighed.

In 1904 and 1905, the Congress declared that the then military expenditure was beyond India's power to bear, and in the latter year prayed that the additional ten millions sterling, sanctioned for Lord Kitchener's reorganisation scheme, might be devoted to education and the reduction of the burden on the raiyats. In 1906, the burdens imposed by the British War Office since 1859 were condemned, and in the next year it was pointed out that the military expenditure was nearly a third of the whole Indian revenue, and was starving Education and Sanitation.

[illegible] reorganisation scheme [illegible] Army [illegible] sterling, [illegible] for [illegible] January 1, 1908, the regular army [illegible] and 247,000 men, of whom 75,000 were English; it was the money spent by India in maintaining this army for years in readiness for war, which made it possible for her to go to the help of Great Britain at the critical early period to which I alluded. She spent over £20 millions on the military services in 1914-15. In 1915-16 she spent £21.8 millions. In 1916-17 her military budget had risen to £22 millions, and it will be largely exceeded.

On this excess, the Viceroy has spoken very ominously. For the Indian War Loan (excluding Treasury Bills received in England) no less than £32 millions sterling have been received and more is coming in. The proceeds of the Loan go to the British Government in London, as part of India's special contribution of £100 millions. They have been utilised to meet War expenditure in India and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British Government. But the Governor-General says:

> "This War expenditure will greatly exceed the amount allowed for the budget estimates, which were based on the best data then available, and we now expect that the excess will practically swallow up the whole of the amounts so far received on account of the Indian War Loan, over and above the £10 millions assumed in the estimate for budget purposes. India is the financial pivot of the British Empire in the East. Thus, apart from the expenditure in India and Mesopotamia to which I have just referred, she is also undertaking the financing of large quantities of wheat, jute, manufactures, hides and numerous other essential commodities, which she is supplying to Great Britain, to the Dominions and to the Allied Governments. She is also providing funds on a considerable scale to East Africa and Persia, and has had on various occasions to assist Ceylon, Mauritius and Egypt by remittance of specie and otherwise; of course, we receive repayment for these services, but *as it is not made in India they necessarily constitute a continuing tax on our present resources here* (italics mine).

The taxes levied to meet the calculated deficit will by no means suffice to fill up the great gulf now yawning before us. On whom will those taxes be levied? It is not unlikely that those Zamindars who have been allying themselves with officials and English non-officials against their countrymen, may find themselves disappointed in their allies, and may begin to realise by personal experiences the necessity of giving to Indian legislatures, in which they will be fully represented, control over National expenditure.

Lord Hardinge, the last Viceroy of India who is ever held in loving memory here for his sympathetic attitude towards Indian aspirations, made a masterly exposition of India's War services in the House of Lords on the third of last July. He emphasised her pre-War services, showing that though 19½ millions sterling was fixed as a maximum by the Nicholson Committee, that amount had been exceeded in 11 out of the last 13 budgets, while his own last budget had risen to 22 millions. During these 13 years the revenue had been only between 48 and 58 millions, once rising to 60 millions. Could any fact speak more eloquently of India's War services than this proportion of military expenditure compared with her revenue?

The Great War began on August 4th, and in that very month and in the early part of September, India sent an expeditionary force of three divisions—two infantry and one cavalry—and another cavalry division joined them in France in November. The first arrived, said Lord Hardinge, "in time to fill a gap that could not otherwise have been filled." He added pathetically: "There are very few survivors of those two splendid divisions of infantry." Truly, their homes are empty, but their sons shall enjoy in India the liberty for which their fathers died in France. Three more divisions were at once sent to guard the Indian frontier, while in September a mixed division was sent to East Africa, and in October and November two more divisions and a brigade of cavalry went to Egypt. A battalion of Indian infantry went to Mauritius, another to the Cameroons, and two to the Persian Gulf, while other Indian troops helped the Japanese in the capture of Tsingtau. 210,000 Indians were thus sent overseas. The whole of these troops were fully armed and equipped, and in addition, during the first few weeks of the War, India sent to England from her magazines "70 million rounds of small-arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles, and more than 550 guns of the latest pattern and type."

In addition to these, Lord Hardinge speaks of sending to England enormous quantities of *material*, tents, boots saddlery, clothing, etc., but every effort was made to meet the ever-increasing demands made by the War Office, and it may be stated without exaggeration that India was bled absolutely white during the first few weeks of the War.

It must not be forgotten, though Lord Hardinge has not reckoned it, that all wastage has been more than filled up, and 450,000 men represent this head; the increase in units has been 300,000 and, including other military items, India had placed in the field up to the end of 1916 over a million of men.

In addition to this a British force of 80,000 was sent from India, fully trained and equipped at Indian cost, India receiving in exchange, many months later, 34 Territorial battalions and 29 batteries, unfit for immediate employment on the frontier or in Mesopotamia, until they had been entirely re-armed and equipped, and their training completed."

Between the autumn of 1914 and the close of 1915, the defence of our own frontiers was a serious matter, and Lord Hardinge says:

> The attitude of Afghanistan was for a long time doubtful, although I always had confidence in the personal loyalty of our ally the Amir; but I feared lest he might be overwhelmed by a wave of fanaticism, or by a successful Jehad of the tribes. It suffices to mention that, although during the previous three years there had been no operations of any importance on the North-West Frontier, there were, between Nov. 29, 1914 and Sept. 5, 1915, no less than seven serious attacks on the North-West Frontier, all of which were effectively dealt with.

The military authorities had also to meet a German conspiracy early in 1915, 7,000 men arriving from Canada and the United States, having planned to seize points of military vantage in the Punjab, and in December of the same year another German conspiracy in Bengal, necessitating military preparations on land, and also naval patrols in the Bay of Bengal.

Lord Hardinge has been much attacked [illegible] Pioneer in England because of his Mesopotamia Report in India because his love for India brought him hatred from Anglo-India. India has affirmed her confidence in him, and with India's verdict he may well rest satisfied.

I do not care to dwell on the Mesopotamia Commission and its condemnation of the bureaucratic system prevailing here. Lord Hardinge vindicated himself and India. The bureaucratic system remains undefended. I recall that bureaucratic inefficiency came out in even more startling fashion in connexion with the Afghan War of 1878-79 and 1879-80. In February 1880, the war charges were reported as under £4 millions, and the accounts showed a surplus of £2 millions. On April 8th, the Government of India reported: "Outgoing for War very alarming, far exceeding estimate," and on the 13th April "it was announced that the cash balances had fallen in three months from thirteen crores to less than nine, owing to 'excessive Military drain'. . . . On the following day [April 22] a despatch was sent out to the Viceroy, showing that there appeared a deficiency of not less than 5½ crores. This vast error was evidently due to an underestimate of war liabilities, which had led to such mis-information being laid before Parliament, and to the sudden discovery of inability to 'meet the usual drawings.'"

It seemed that the Government knew only the amount audited, not the amount spent. Payments were entered as "advances," though they were not recoverable, and "the great negligence was evidently that of the heads of departmental accounts." If such a mishap should occur under Home Rule, a few years hence—which heaven forbid—I shudder to think of the comments of the "Englishman" and the "Madras Mail" on the shocking inefficiency of Indian officials.

In September last, our present Viceroy, H. E. Lord Chelmsford, defended India against later attacks by critics who try to minimise her sacrifices in order to lessen the gratitude felt by Great Britain towards her, lest that gratitude should give birth to justice, and justice should award freedom to India. Lord Chelmsford placed before his Council "in studiously considered outline, a summary of what India has done during the past two years." Omitting his references to what was done under Lord Hardinge, as stated above, I may quote from him:

> On the outbreak of war of the 4,598 British officers on the Indian establishment, 530 who were at home on leave were detained by the War Office for service in Europe. 2,600 Combatant Officers have been withdrawn from India since the beginning of the War, excluding those who proceeded on service with their batteries or regiments. In order to make good these deficiencies and provide for war wastage the Indian Army Reserve of Officers was expanded from a total of 40, at which it stood on the 4th August, 1914, to one of 3,000.
>
> The establishment of Indian units has not only been kept up to strength, but has been considerably increased. There has been an augmentation of 20 per cent. in the cavalry and of 40 per cent. in the infantry, while the number of recruits enlisted since the beginning of the War is greater than the entire strength of the Indian Army as it existed on the 4th August, 1914.

Lord Chelmsford rightly pointed out:

> The Army in India has thus proved a great Imperial asset, and in weighing the value of India's contribution to the War, it should be remembered that India's forces were no hasty improvisation, but were an army in being, fully equipped and supplied, which had previously cost India annually a large sum to maintain.

Lord Chelmsford has stablished what he calls a "Man-Power Board," th duty of which is "to collect and co-ordinate all the facts, with regard to the supply of man-power in India." It has branches in all the Provinces. A steady flow of reinforcements supplies the wastage at the various fronts, and the labour required for engineering, transport, etc., is now organised in 20 corps in Mesopotamia and 25 corps in France. In addition 60,000 artisans, labourers and specialists are serving in Mesopotamia and East Africa, and some 20,000 menials and followers have also gone overseas. Indian medical practitioners have accepted temporary commissions in the Indian Medical Service to the number of 500. In view of this fact, due to Great Britain's bitter need of help, may we not hope that this Service will welcome Indians in time of peace as well as in time of war, and will no longer bar the way by demanding the taking of a degree in the United Kingdom? It is also worthy of notice that the I. M. S. officers in charge of district duties have been largely replaced by Indian medical men, this, again should continue after the War Another fact, that the Army Reserve of Officers has risen from 40 to 3,000, suggests that the throwing open of King's Commissions to qualified Indians should not be represented by a meagre nine. If English lads of 19 and 20 are worthy of King's Commissions—and the long roll of slain Second-Lieuts. proves it—then certainly Indian lads, since Indians have fought as bravely as Englishmen, should find the door thrown open to them equally widely in their own country, and the Indian Army should be led by Indian officers.

With such a record of deeds as the one I have baldly sketched, it is not necessary to say much in words as to India's support of Great Britain and her Allies. She has proved up to the hilt her desire to remain within the Empire, to maintain her tie with Great Britain. But if Great Britain is to call successfully on her man-power, as Lord Chelmsford suggests in his Man-Power Board, then must the man who fights or labours have a man's rights in his own land. The lesson which springs out of this War is that it is absolutely necessary for the future safety of the Empire that India shall have Home Rule. Had her Man-Power been utilised earlier there would have been no War, for none would have dared to provoke Great Britain and India to a contest. But her Man-Power cannot be utilised while she is a subject Nation. She cannot afford to maintain a large army, if she is to support an English garrison, to pay for their goings and comings, to buy stores in England at exorbitant prices and send them back again when England needs them. She cannot afford to train men for England, and only have their services for five years. She cannot afford to keep huge Gold Reserves in England, and be straitened for cash, while she lends to England out of her Reserves, taken from her over-taxation, £27,000,000 for War expenses, and this, be it remembered, before the great War Loan. I once said in England: [illegible] Britain's [illegible] sion as India's [illegible] India's freedom, [illegible] willingly when her taxes [illegible] country and fertilise it, when [illegible] her people and thus increase [illegible] ductive power, when they foster [illegible] and create for her new industries.

Great Britain needs India even [illegible] India needs England, for prosperity [illegible] Peace as well as for safety in [illegible] Montagu has wisely said that "[illegible] ment in War a Nation needs freedom [illegible] Peace". Therefore I say that, for both countries alike, the lesson of the War is Home Rule for India.

Let me close this part of my subject by laying at the feet of His Imperial Majesty the loying homage of the thousands here assembled, with the hope and belief that, ere long, we shall lay there the willing and grateful homage of a free Nation.

CAUSES OF THE NEW SPIRIT IN INDIA.

Apart from the natural exchange of thought between East and West, the influence of English education, literature and ideals, the effect of travel in Europe, Japan and the United States of America, and other recognised causes for the changed outlook in India, there have been special forces at work during the last few years to arouse a New Spirit in India, and to alter her attitude of mind. These may be summed up as:

(*a*) The Awakening of Asia.
(*b*) Discussions abroad on Alien Rule and Imperial Reconstruction.
(*c*) Loss of Belief in the Superiority of the White Races.
(*d*) The Awakening of the Mohammedan World.
(*e*) The Awakening of the Women to claim their Ancient Position.
(*f*) The Awakening of the Masses.

Each of these causes has had its share in the splendid change of attitude in the Indian Nation, in the uprising of a sense of pride of country, of independence and self-reliance of dignity, of self-respect. The War has quickened the rate of evolution of the world, and no country has experienced the quickening more than our Motherland.

(a) The Awakening of Asia.

In a conversation I had with Lord Minto, soon after his arrival as Viceroy, he discussed the so-called "unrest in India" and recognised it as the inevitable result of English Education, of English Ideals of Democracy, of the Japanese victory over Russia, and of the changing conditions in the outer world. I was therefore not surprised to read his remark that he recognised, "frankly and publicly, that new aspirations were stirring in the hearts of the people, that they were part of a larger movement common to the whole East, and that it was necessary to satisfy them to a reasonable extent by giving them a larger share in the administration."

But the present movement in India will be very poorly understood if it be regarded only in connexion with the movements in the East. The awakening of Asia is part of a world-movement, which has been quickened into marvellous rapidity by the world-war. The world-movement [illegible] wards Democracy, and for the West [illegible] from the breaking away of the American Colonies from Great Britian, consequent on the British attitude against democracy and in defence of freedom in Europe, while her attitude to India has, until lately, been left in doubt. Therefore I spoke of a splendid opportunity lost. India as a whole believed, while heartedly, that Great Britain was fighting for the freedom of all Nationalities. Even now, Mr. Asquith declared in his speech in the House of Commons reported here last October, on the peace resolution of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald—that "the Allies are fighting for nothing but freedom, and, as important addition or nothing short of freedom." In his speech declaring that Britain would stand by France in her claim for the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, he spoke of "the intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke." Is such a yoke less wounding to self-respect here than in Russia, where the rulers and the ruled are both of European blood, similar in religion and habits? As the War went on, India slowly and unwillingly came to realise that the hatred of autocracy was confined to autocracy in the West, and that the degradation was only considered as intolerable for men of white [illegible] freedom was lavishly promised to all except to India. That new powers were to be given to the Dominions, but not to India, India was markedly left out of the speeches of statesmen dealing with the future of the Empire, and as last there was plain talk of the White Empire, the Empire of the free Nations, and the "coloured" races were lumped together as the wards of the White Empire, doomed to an indefinite minority.

The peril was pressing, the chance unmistakable. The Reconstruction [illegible] Empire was on the anvil; what was to be India's place therein? The Dominions were proclaimed as partners; was India to remain a Dependency? Mr. Bonar Law bade the Dominions strike while the iron was hot; was India to wait till it was cold? India saw her soldiers fighting for freedom in Flanders, in France, in Gallipoli, in Asia Minor, in China, in Africa; was she to have no share of the freedom for which she fought At last she sprang to her feet and cried in the words of one of her noblest sons: "Freedom is my birthright; and I want it." The words 'Home Rule' became her Mantram. She claimed her place in the Empire.

Thus, while she continued to support and even to increase, her army abroad, fighting for the Empire and poured out her treasures as water for Hospital Ships, War Funds, Red Cross Organisations, and the gigantic War Loan, a dawning fear oppressed her, lest if she did not take order with her own household, success in the War for the Empire might mean decreased liberty for herself

The recognition of the right of the Indian Government to make its voice heard in Imperial matters, when they were under discussion in an Imperial Conference, was a step in the right direction. But disappointment was felt that while other countries were represented by responsible Ministers, the representation in India's case was of the Government, of a Government irresponsible to her, and not the representative of herself No fault was found with the choice itself, but only with the non-representative character of the chosen, for they were selected by the Government, and not by the elected members of the Supreme Council This defect in the resolution moved by the Hon Khan Bahadur M. M Shafi on October 2, 1916, was pointed out by the Hon Mr. Surendranath Banerji. He said:

> My Lord, in view of a situation so full of hope and promise, it seems to me that my friend's Resolution does not go far enough. He pleads for *official* representation at the Imperial Conference: he does not plead for *popular* representation. He urges that an address be presented to His Majesty's Government, through the Secretary of State for India, for official representation at the Imperial Council. My Lord, official representation may mean little or nothing. It may indeed be attended with some risk; for I am sorry to have to say—but say it I must—that our officials do not always see eye to eye with us as regards many great public questions which affect this country, and indeed their views judged from our standpoint, may sometimes seem adverse to our interests. At the same time, my Lord, I recognise the fact that the Imperial Conference is an assemblage of officials pure and simple, consisting of Ministers of the United Kingdom and of the self-governing Colonies. But, my Lord, there is an essential difference between them and ourselves. In their case, the Ministers are the elect of the people, their organ and their voice, answerable to them for their conduct and their proceedings. In our case, our officials are public servants in name, but in reality they are the masters of the public. The situation may improve, and I trust it will, under the liberalising influence of your Excellency's beneficent administration; but we must take things as they are, and not indulge in building castles in the air which may vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision."

It was said [illegible] Conference, Representation [illegible] but as said, of the British Government in the [illegible] of India, there [illegible] represented that [illegible] Dominions [illegible] work, none the less we [illegible] valuable and experienced [illegible] were called in the Imperial Conference [illegible] partially, on the Indian question. Yet it is hoped that [illegible] the Conference of men of Indian [illegible] may prove to be the proverbial "thin [illegible] wedge" and may drive convinced [illegible] Empire Delegates that, while India was [illegible] a Dependency, India's sons were fully [illegible] equals.

Report of the Public Services Commission, though now too long ago to be discussed, caused both disappointment and resentment, for it showed that, in the opinion of the majority of the Commissioners, British domination in Indian administration was to be perpetual and, that for years hence she would only hold a third, or 33 per cent. of the higher appointments in the I.C.S., and the Police. I cannot, however, mention that the Commission, even in [illegible] voicing India's thanks to the Hon. Mr. Justice Rajiv for his able and courageous [illegible] in writing a solitary Minute of [illegible] in which he [illegible] rejected the Report, and laid down the [illegible] principles which should govern [illegible] ment for the Indian Civil Services.

India had but [illegible] representatives on the Commission, to [illegible] and [illegible] if made its Report, [illegible] by the suffering, [illegible] of the humiliation of the [illegible] men were treated. Mr. [illegible] I have already spoken [illegible] Mr. M. C. Chubbal [illegible] the Report, and dissented from [illegible] important recommendations." [illegible] was written "before the [illegible] but not merely an antiquarian [illegible]

India, for all these years [illegible] to see before her a future [illegible] subordination, the position [illegible] Britain, the [illegible] American in America, was [illegible] in her own great but [illegible] nowhere alone among [illegible] world, he was not to [illegible] his own. "Britain for the [illegible] rules and naturally [illegible] was wrong, even sedition [illegible] "India for the Empire." [illegible] the Empire, but "the [illegible] Empire," careless of [illegible] support for British Trade" was [illegible] and treaties in India [illegible] "India for Indians" showed a [illegible] and anti-Imperial spirit in India, [illegible] the Empire was to continue to live perpetually, and even thankfully, as Gopal Krishna Gokhale said he lived now, "an atmosphere of dignity" and to be proud to be a citizen (without rights) of the Empire, while [illegible] component Nations were to be citizens (with rights) in their own countries [illegible] and citizens of the Empire secondarily. Just as the trust in Great Britain [illegible] striking nearly to breaking point came the glad news of Mr. Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India, and of the Viceroy's invitation to him, and of his coming to hear for himself what India wanted. It was a [illegible] breathing through the [illegible] Britain [illegible] and [illegible] Empire [illegible] the attitude of [illegible]

(c) Loss of Belief in the Superiority of the White Races.

The undermining of this belief dates from the spreading of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. Both bodies sought to lead the Indian people to a sense of the value of their own civilisation to pride in their past, creating self-respect in the present, and self-confidence in the future. They destroyed the unhealthy inclination to imitate the West in all things, and taught discrimination, to using only of what was valuable in western thought and culture, instead of a mere slavish copying of everything. Another great force was that of Swami Vivekananda, alike in his passionate love and admiration for India, and his exposure of the evils resulting from Materialism in the West. Take the following:

> Children of India, I am here to speak to you to-day about some practical things, and my object in reminding you about the glories of the past is simply this. Many times have I been told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing and that we should look to the future. That is true. But out of the past is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward, and make India brighter, greater, much higher than she ever was. Our ancestors were great. We must recall that. We must learn the elements of our being, the blood that courses in our veins; we must have faith in that blood, and what it did in the past; and out of that faith, and consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India yet greater than what she has been.

And again:

> I know for certain that millions, I say deliberately, millions, in every civilised land are waiting for the message that will save them from the hideous abyss of materialism, into which modern money-worship is driving them headlong, and many of the leaders of the new Social Movements have already discovered that Vedanta in its highest form can alone spiritualise their social aspirations.

The process was continued by the admiration of Sanskrit literature expressed by European scholars and philosophers. But the effect of these was confined to the few and did not reach the many. The first great shock to their belief in white superiority came from the triumph of Japan over Russia, the facing of a brave European Power by a comparatively small eastern Nation, the exposure of the weakness and rottenness of the Russian leaders, and the contrast with their hardy Asiatic opponents, ready to sacrifice everything for their country.

The second great shock has come from the frank brutality of German theories of the State, and their practical carrying out in the treatment of conquered districts and the laying waste of evacuated areas in retreat. The teachings of Bismarck and their practical application in France, Flanders, Belgium Poland and Serbia have des- [illegible] Asia. Its vaunted civilisation [illegible] seen to be but a thin veneer, and [illegible] religion a matter of form rather than of life. Gazing from afar at the ghastly heaps of dead and the hosts of the mutilated, at science turned into devilry and ever inventing new tortures for rending and slaying, Asia may be forgiven for thinking that, on the whole, she prefers her own religions and her own civilisations.

But even deeper than the outer tumult of war has pierced the doubt as to the reality of the ideals of Liberty and Nationality so loudly proclaimed by the foremost Western Nations, the doubt of the sincerity of their champions. Sir James Meston said truly, a short time ago, that he had never in his long experience known Indians in as distrustful and suspicious a mood as that which he met in them to-day. And that is so. For long years Indians have been claiming over the many breaches of promises and pledges to them that remain unredeemed. The maintenance here of a system of political repression, of coercive measures, increased in number and more harshly applied since 1909, the carrying of the system to a wider extent since the War for the sanctity of treaties and for the protection of Nationalities has been going on, have deepened the mistrust. A frank and courageous statesmanship applied to the honest carrying out of large reforms so long delayed, can alone remove it. The time for political bargaining is past; the time for wise and prompt changes is here.

To these deep causes must be added the comparison between the progressive policy of some of the Indian States in matters which most affect the happiness of the people, and the slow advance made under British administration. The Indian notes that this advance is made under the guidance of rulers and ministers of his own race. When in less than two years suggestions made in the People's Assembly in Mysore are fully considered and, when possible, given effect to, he realises that without the forms of power, the members exercise more real power than those in our Legislative Councils. He sees education spreading, new industries fostered, villagers encouraged to manage their own affairs and take the burden of their own responsibility, and he wonders why Indian incapacity is so much more efficient than British capacity.

Perhaps, after all, for Indians, Indian rule may be the best.

(d) The Awakening of the Merchants.

Of the many forces that have created New India, the awakening of the Merchants into political life is perhaps the most potent, and the most promising with happy possibilities. Sir Dinshaw Wacha in the Industrial Conference in Bombay, 1916, advocated the yoking together of Politics and Industry. It is now coming about. Hitherto the merchants had remained immersed in their own occupations, and they were restrained by the War from any thoughts of taking part in politics by finding that their very occupations were [illegible] with disaster by the attitude of the Governments as for instance, the refusal to lend a helping hand to industries which had been connected closely with German

(Continued on page 11.)

BOMBAY RACING SEASON.

THIRD EXTRA MEETING.

A RECORD ATTENDANCE.

LADY MURIEL WINS THE X'MAS PLATE.

MOOLTAN THE VIHAR PLATE.

(By our Racing Correspondent.)

As was expected a record attendance of holiday makers assembled at Mahalaxmi yesterday to witness the running of the third extra meeting of the Bombay Racing Season. It was rumoured early that his Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu were expected at the Races but great was the disappointment when it was known that the distinguished visitors were not able to be present. His Excellency, Lord Willingdon, however, was present and remained till the last race. All the stands were filled to their utmost capacity and the totalizators were so well patronized, that at times it was very difficult to get a ticket in both the win and place totes—except in the case of Lady Muriel who was well fancied. All the winners were unexpected and fine dividends were returned in all the races. Mitchel and Lynch carried the honours of the day; the former winning two and the latter three out of seven races, tha remaining two going to the credit of Japheth and Purtoosingh. Racing of a higher order, than that seen in the previous meetings of this season, was witnessed yesterday and large fields ran throughout. As far as fields are concerned Bombay is more fortunate than Calcutta where the races there this year are of a very poor character. Just before the last race information was received at the Course, that in a field of only five for the Viceroy's Cup, Kiltoi won easily. It is needless to say that this news caused the greatest satisfaction as it is again a victory for one of our best Bombay stables Gen Nawabzada Obaidullah Khan, whose stable here also is in luck's vein this season, is to be congratulated on winning this coveted trophy with his valuable animal who in Poona this year was not in the best of conditions. On the other hand Bombay is suffering from a dearth of Jockeys as most of the best riders are away at Calcutta.

It is a great drawback here that the press correspondents are not admitted all over the course especially, in the members' stand as is the case in Calcutta, where the press is at liberty to visit every inch and corner of the Race Course. Most of the press correspondents who were anxious to know about the visit of his Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu were obliged to ask one another about it and as no body seemed to know, it was only due to the kindness of a few members who happened to come in in the ground enclosure that the desired information was obtained.

A card of seven events was presented in which three races were for English horses and four for Arabs. Proceedings, started with the 2nd division of the Bhuleshwar Plate in which eighteen Arabs of the second division ran. Public fancies centred on Resold and Mandil, while Tasmania had a large following. Balloon, however, who took it into his head to run straight, this time, upset all calculations by winning as he liked. This was the first disappointment of the day to be followed alas! by many more. Resold and Mandil fortunately placed and as the dividend in both cases was a little above even money, the public did not suffer so badly after all. The second Races was the 1st Division of the same plate in which another large field ran. This race also saw an outsider in the winner. Mitchell, who won the first race in hollow fashion, repeated his success in this one also when he piloted Morning Light to victory. Osprey tried to reserve a surprise, but was foiled in his attempt by the fine riding of Mitchell. To our readers, perhaps, the winning of Balloon and Morning Light did not come as a surprise as we gave both of them as promised winners in our forecast last week.

The Ripon Plate saw a field of thirteen out Rueful being the favourite and Dunskey next in demand Kit-Grey-Leg on whose running, on the 1st extra meeting we strongly commented in these columns, won easily from Somali. Is not this a clear case for an enquiry? What explanation can be given for the ridiculous running of that mare in the Red Car Plate?

Ajax again disappointed a host of supporters by being defeated by Mooltan who was neglected with a feather weight. As we stated in our last report Mr. Albin Talib's stable is also in luck's way.

The Christmas Plate for horses in the 2nd Division saw Lady Muriel again to the fore with almost the same weight as when she won on former occasions. It is remarkable how some animals are fortunate receiving only a couple of pounds for winning, whilst others receive burdens for placing. It was a fine race, but Cyanite, who fought it out with the Lady, could not do much against such a light weight carrier.

In a large field of thirteen Bellicose was selected as the best candidate for the Brighton Plate on the strength of his easy win in the Lester Plate. Billy Bawn however, who showed himself to be a very fast performer at Poona did not allow him to have matters his own way. He won that plate in convincing style with the decent weight of 9-3, while Bellicose could only secure second place almost a length behind.

The last race of the day was contested by some very fast Arab ponies. Vellard, who started at short odds, was never in the picture, while Young Majub and Defender, both from the same stable, fought the issue for first and second place; Bayonet was well fancied by many; but those who know anything of racing did not like him in this class. Though the time was 1.24 the same as when Bayonet won the 1st division of the Byculla Plate last Saturday, he could not pace for a couple of furlongs with these sorinters. It is a good instance how class makes a great difference in race horses.

Details:—

THE BHULESHWAR PLATE. Division II.—Distance 7 furlongs.

Messrs. S. A. R. Whabah and Yussuff Sheriff's BALLOON, 8-4, Mitchell 1
Mr. M. Goculdass's RESOLD, 8-8, Harrison 2
Mr. Ali bin Talib's MANDIL, 8-11, Bullock 3
Mr. Ebrahim bin Zaid's INVESTOR, 7-2, Ebrahim 4
Did not run:—Pacific, Shailan, Britannia, Salim, Panama and Ormuz.

The race:—Akbar led the field till the 5th furlong followed by Second String, Resold and Balloon. Balloon moved up to the front at the 5th furlong and entered the straight first where he improved his lead. Resold and Mandil challenged hard, but could not overtake Balloon who won easily by 1½ lengths, ½ length, ½ length.

Time:—1 min. 42 2/5 secs.

Totes paid—1st Enclosure:—Win Rs. 167; Places Rs. 45-8, Rs. 22 and Rs. 21.

Totes paid—2nd Enclosure:—Win Rs. 123; Places Rs. 25-8, Rs. 15 and Rs. 12-8.

Trainer:—Rashid Dakeel.

THE BHULESHWAR PLATE. Division I.—Distance 7 furlongs.

Mr. Noble's MORNING LIGHT, 7-13, Mitchell 1
Mr. S. A. Wahed's OSPREY, 9-0, Bowley ... 2
Mr. Nassim Saleh's BLACK IVORY, 8-8, Pullin 3
Mr. M. A. Nanjee's FULL HOUSE, Lynch 4
Did not run:—Najdi, Powerful, Equator and Natal.

The race:—As soon as they were released Osprey in company of Full House did the running. At the bend Osprey was going strong and Full House was showing signs of falling back. Black Ivory then joined the leader and both entered the straight abreast. In the distance Morning Light who was handy at the rails, caught up Osprey and an exciting race took place between the pair; Morning Light winning by a short head, ½ length, 1 length.

Time:—1 min. 41 4/5 secs.

Totes paid—1st Enclosure:—Win Rs. 125; Places Rs. 54, Rs. 53 and Rs. 26-8

Totes paid—2nd Enclosure:—Win Rs. 162; Places Rs. 39-8, Rs. 26 and Rs. 14.

Trainer:—Abbas Sheriff.

THE RIPON PLATE.—Distance 1 mile.

Lieut.-Colonel Cairne and Capt. Sanford's KIT GREY LEG, 7-7, Japheth 1
General Nawabzada Obaidulla Khan's SOMALI, 9-6, E. Huxley 2
Mr. R. R. S.'s DUNSKEY, 9-6, Collis 3
Mr. Frank's RUEFUL, 8-11, Trenoweth ... 4

The race:—They were sent level only Mr. M. Goculdass's FINE TROUT, 7-5, Dhoudi 3
Major Sir G. Beaumont's HOPPNER, 8-11, Pullin 4
Did not run:—Haven of Rest, Dunskey, Przemsyl, Taxi Girl and Pink Flannel.

The race:—Billy Bawn and Motor Wrap did the running; near home Motor Wrap was finished and Bellicose came in second place, Fine Trout and Hoppner though travelling fast near the end could not catch the leader who won by ½ length, 1 length, ½ length.

Time:—1 min. 1 sec.

Totes paid—1st Enclosure:—Win Rs. 83-8; Places Rs. 37-8, Rs. 16-8 and Rs. 70.

Totes paid—2nd Enclosure:—Win Rs. 98-8; Places Rs. 24, Rs. 8-8 and Rs. 25-8.

Trainer:—Sheik Ismail.

THE BANDRA PLATE.—Distance 6 furlongs.

Mr. Erach Jeejeebhoy's YOUNG MAJUB, 7-13, Lynch 1
Messrs. A. R. Dakeel and Sayed Ahmed's DEFENDER, 8-2, Pullin 2
Mr. M. Goculdass's FOUR ACES, 8-9, Mujeed 3
Mr. A. Nanjee's ACE OF ROYALS, 9-8, A. Templeman 4

The race:—They had a pretty good start when Young Majub at once went to the front in company of Four Aces. They ran in that order till the bend where Defender challenged and succeeded in displacing Four Aces, but could not overtake Young Majub who went to win as he liked by a couple of lengths, 1 length, ½ length.

Time:—1 min. 24 secs.

Totes paid—1st Enclosure:—Win Rs. 103; Places Rs. 38-8, Rs. 21-8 and Rs. 84.

Totes paid—2nd Enclosure:—Win Rs. 78; Places Rs. 23-8, Rs. 11-8 and Rs. 31.

CALCUTTA RACES.

FIRST MEETING.

THIRD DAY.

(From our correspondent.)

CALCUTTA, DEC. 26.

The attendance at all enclosures was so big that one could move about with difficulty. It was certainly the largest seen for a long time past. His Excellency the Governor and Countess Ronaldshay were present all through. Owing to Mr. Fawcett's fine handicapping close finishes were witnessed in the last two races. But the Viceroy's Cup race proved a tame affair, Kiltoi looked best at the paddock and in the preliminary canter he started at odds on, was never extended and won with lot in hand. The police handled an enormous traffic well.

Details are given below:—

THE GRAND ANNUAL PLATE.—Distance 2 miles.

Mr. Edward's WHIPPOORWILL, 10-7, Heron 1
Mr. Walsh's BODENHAM, 10-13, Seastream 2
Mr. Goculdass's KNIGHTS KEY, 11-4, Mr. B. Ali's MAUD, 8-0, Rose 2
Mr. Galstaun's PIER, 7-8, Buckley 3
Also ran:—Lady Marchmint 9-11, Stepaside 8-8, Go On 7-7, Alice 7-6, Tatler 7-0, Dolly Schomberg 6-7 (cd. 7-11).

Betting:—Twos Stepaside, 5 to 2 Maud, 7 to 2 Nareb, fifteens the rest.

The race:—Pier led from Lady Marchmint and Go On, but the last named fell soon after from six-furlong post, both Nareb and Maud began to forge their way through the field and both caught Pier in the straight after a tremendous set to Ruiz lifted Nareb to win on the post by a neck, 2 lengths between second and third.

Time:—2 mins. 42 secs.

Totes paid:—Win Rs. 38; Places Rs. 21, Rs. 15 and Rs. 68.

THE VICEROY'S CUP.—Distance 1½ miles. H. H. Genl. Nawabzada Obaidulla Khan's KILTOI, 9-3, Ruiz 1
Mr. Goculdass's POLITIAN, 8-3, Huxley 2
Mr. R. R. S.'s MAGYAR, 9-3, Templeman 3
Also ran:—Marcianus 9-3 and Wolfaline 9-3.

Betting:—6 to 4 on Kiltoi, 5 to 2 Magyar, fours Politian, tens Marcianus, thirties Wolfaline.

The race:—The field had not to wait long, but were despatched level, Kiltoi assumed command from the start and stayed there till the winning post was reached. He moved quite well within himself and was never extended. Behind him the field lay in a compact body Marcianus having just a shade of advantage. From half-mile post steam was put on and Politian leaving others behind followed the leader, Magyar being hard ridden under a whip. Kiltoi won by three lengths, two lengths between second and third.

Time:—3 mins. 5 4/5 secs. which is slow for this race.

Totes paid:—Win Rs. 19; Places Rs. 15 and Rs. 17.

THE X'MAS HANDICAP. Division I.—Distance 6 furlongs.

Mr. Peter's FRISETTE, 8-5, Rose 1
Mr. Thaddeus' SOSPELLO, 8-10, Ruiz ... 2
Mr. Avasia's SPEARWOOD, 7-13, Barrett 3
Also ran:—Talcum 8-3, L'Avenir 9-1, Warden 7-0, Sungrete 7-0.

Betting:—5 to 4 Spearwood, twos Frisette, threes Sospello, twelves and more the rest.

The race:—Sospello established a long break immediately after the start Spearwood was second and Frisette third, the last named came with terrific speed and wearing Sospello down won near the post by ½ length, 1½ lengths between second and third.

Time:—1 min. 15 1/5 secs.

Totes paid:—Win Rs. 27; Places Rs. 16 and Rs. 21.

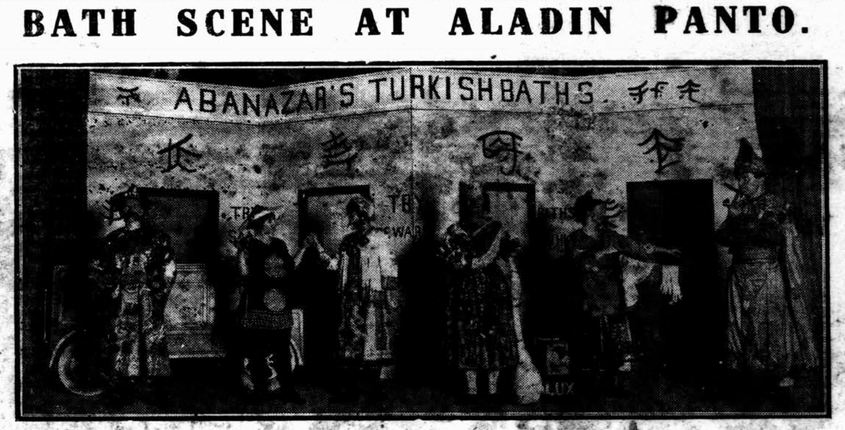
THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY'S CONVENTION.

(Associated Press.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 26.

The forty-second convention of the Theosophical Society commenced its sittings this morning at the Calcutta University Institute. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa addressed the gathering on problems of religion and philosophy. The conference will sit from day to day till the 30th. Mrs. Besant, Justice T. Sadasiva Iyer, Mr. Jinarajadasa and Mr. G. S. Arundale will address the Convention.

BATH SCENE AT ALADIN PANTO.



Now being produced at the Palace of Varieties.

Saunterer being badly left, when Lupinus cut the pace followed by Rochambole. At the fourth furlong Dunskey and Somali joined the leaders and soon passed them. Dunskey entered the straight first lotty pursued by Somali. In front of the second stand, Kit Grey Leg challenged, passed Somali who had displaced Dunskey, and went strong to win by 1 length, 1 length, ½ length.

Totes paid—1st Enclosure:—Win Rs. 76-8; Places Rs. 24, Rs. 62-8 and Rs. 22.

Totes paid—2nd Enclosure:—Win Rs. 32; Places Rs. 11, Rs. 26-8 and Rs. 13-8.

Trainer:—C. Bleach.

THE VIHAR PLATE.—Distance 7 furlongs.

Mr. Ali bin Talib's MOOLTAN, 7-3, Lynch 1
Mr. F. M. Garda's NIZAM-UL-MULK, 8-5, Pullin 2
Mr. Heath's AJAX, 7-9 (cd. 7-12), Bullock 3
Mr. K. Cassumbhoy's TAWDRY, 7-8, Jacob 4
Did not run:—Dhaman.

The race:—From a good start Ajax jumped to the front and established a clear lead. He was followed by Tawdry and Nizam-ul-Mulk till the 3rd furlong. Then three ran abreast till the bend where Mooltan joined and passed them. Mooltan was first in the straight, Nizam-ul-Mulk attempted to catch him, but failed to overtake him. He went strong to win by 1 length, 1 length, ½ length.

Time:—1 min. 30 4/5 secs.

Totes paid—1st Enclosure:—Win Rs. 36-8; Places Rs. 24-8, Rs. 14-8 and Rs. 14-8.

Totes paid—2nd Enclosure:—Win Rs. 53-8; Places Rs. 14, Rs. 8-8 and Rs. 7-8.

Trainer:—Owner.

THE X'MAS PLATE.—Distance 7 furlongs.

General Nawabzada Obaidulla Khan's LADY MURIEL, 7-5, Purtoosingh 1
Mr. R. R. S.'s CYANITE, 8-3, Collis 2
H. H. Maharaja of Gwalior's DRESS, 8-1, Pullin 3
Mr. J. Stewart's ANTHRACITE, 7-10, Harrison 4
Did not run:—Black Kite and Double Chin.

The race:—Anthracite did the running followed by Royal Band and Conical Corner. At the bend Cyanite overtook the leader and entered the straight first. Lady Muriel challenged in the distance and caught Cyanite before the stands. An exciting race then ensued, Lady Muriel winning by a neck, 1 length, a head.

Time:—1 min. 32 2/5 secs.

Totes paid—1st Enclosure:—Win Rs. 46-8; Places Rs. 13-8, Rs. 13 and Rs. 22-8.

Totes paid—2nd Enclosure:—Win Rs. 28-8; Places Rs. 8-8, Rs. 6-8 and Rs. 12.

Trainer:—Sadullah Khan.

THE BRIGHTON PLATE.—Distance 5 furlongs (Straight).

Mr. Downe's BILLY BAWN, 9-3, Lynch ... 1
Mr. Frank's BELLICOSE, 9-0, Harrison 2
Clarke 3
Also ran:—Scotch Plaid 9-0 (cd. 9-1).

Betting:—3 to 2 Whippoorwill and Bodenham, fours Knights Key and twenties the others.

The race:—A good start. Bodenham led from Whippoorwill, then Scotch Plaid with Knights Key the last jumping indifferently. From ten-furlong post Whippoorwill started out to the front winning unhandily by 4½ lengths, Knights Key finished, third twelve lengths off second.

Time:—3 mins. 47 4/5 secs.

Totes paid:—Win Rs. 27; Places Rs. 14 and Rs. 14.

THE X'MAS HANDICAP. Division II.—Distance 6 furlongs.

Mr. N. Boy's LARIGOT, 8-8, Harrison ... 1
Messrs. Donetti and Watson's SANTE COLA, 7-5 (cd. 7-7), Rose 2
Dr. Boye's MAHONEY BOY, 6-7, Northmore 3
Also ran:—Surprise 7-10, Labanon 8-5, Regal Sally 9-1, Kitty O'Hara 8-5 (cd. 8-7), Leila 8-5, Minsim III 6-7, Dorian III and Royalband 7-10 (cd. 7-6).

Betting:—Threes Santicola, fives Regal Sally, sixes Leila and Larigot, eights Blue Sapphire and Kitty O'Hara and longer prices the rest.

The race:—Mahoney Boy slipped the field at once with Larigot and Santicola next to him and these three had a race all to themselves. Mahoney Boy was in trouble two furlongs from the post, and first Larigot then Santicola passed him, Judges' verdict being three lengths and half length.

Time:—1 min. 15 1/5 secs.

Totes paid:—Win Rs. 67; Places Rs. 20, Rs. 13 and Rs. 99.

THE LAWN PLATE.—Distance 6 furlongs.

Mr. Goculdass's CICATRIX, 7-9, J. H. Flynn 1
Mr. Lauder's STAR OF INDIA, 8-9, Barrett 2
Mr. Walsh's EAGLES NEST, 7-4, Northmore 3
Also ran:—Waynaeth 9-0, Little Nan 8-4, Guess 7-13 and Bed Time 7-10.

Betting:—3 to 2 Star of India, threes Cicatrix, fours Little Nan and Waynaeth, longer prices the rest.

The race:—Cicatrix jumped off with a lead which on settling down she increased to more than half a dozen lengths. She was chased all the way down by Eagles Nest and Star of India, who opposite the stand assumed second position, but failed to catch the leader by 1½ lengths, 1 length between second and third.

Time:—1 min. 14 4/5 secs.

Totes paid:—Win Rs. 53, Places Rs. 23 and Rs. 17.

THE GUNNY MEAH CUP.—Distance 11 miles.

Mr. Allan's NARBA, 9-13, Ruiz 1

COOPERATION IN BOMBAY.

A meeting of those interested in co-operation was held on the 21st instant at the office of the Bombay Central Co-operative Bank, Ltd., when the following resolution was passed:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that a co-operative conference should be held in Bombay for the purpose of discussing questions on co-operation with special reference to Bombay and suburbs. That a committee to be named presently be appointed to formulate proposals for such a conference and circulate the same to all the Co-operative Societies in Bombay for an expression of their opinion. That the committee be also authorised to obtain the views of such other persons as they may think fit."

MILITARY ASST. SURGEONS AT HOME.

A very pleasant evening was spent on Christmas Eve at the rooms of the Anglo-Indian Empire League when the Military Assistant Surgeons of Bombay were at home to their friends. The proceedings opened at 4-30 p.m. with a Christmas Tree, preceded by a tea to which about 20 "kiddies" sat down. Father Christmas at personated by Mr. Cahill was voted a huge success and to gauge by the happiness depicted on the faces of the youngsters his gifts were much appreciated.

After adjourning for dinner the guests re-assembled at 9 p.m., for a dance which terminated at midnight with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne."

It is understood that enrolments in 39th Garhwalis since the war began have reached a total of 7,100 men while 2,700 Garhwalis are serving in other corps such as Burma military police. Garhwal has a total population of under half a million and only Brahmans and Rajputs are enlisted. Over 25 per cent. of men of these castes of fighting age have joined the Colours.

REJECTED ADDRESSES.

PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT ACTION.

A public meeting of the citizens Bombay of all classes and communities, under auspices Bombay Nation Union, was held in the Morarji Gocouldas Hall under presidentship of Dr. Erulkar to protest against the action of the Bombay Government in refusing to receive the deputations of certain important association. Amongst the speakers were Dr. Savarkar, Messrs. Shinde, Gole, Chavan, Sayad and Pandit.

The following resolutions was passed:—

This public meeting of citizens of Bombay of all classes and communities held under the auspices of the Bombay National Union, places on record its emphatic protest against the action of the Bombay Government in refusing to receive the deputations and addresses of the all India Mahratta Conference, the Kolaba Jillha Sabha and other important representative bodies, all favouring the Congress League scheme of reforms, while allowing deputations of bodies of recent origin and of no representative character and of anticongress spirit.

The meeting is of opinion that this action of the Government is likely to be interpreted as an attempt to stifle the expression of wholehearted sympathy and support to the Congress League Scheme of reforms from all quarters and thus screen the real feeling of the people from the state secretary's view, and the meeting therefore respectfully prays for intervention and the acceptance of all deputations and addresses and avoid a fruitful source of deep discontent in the country.

DEATH, BELIEVED THROUGH DRUG-POISONING.

The Acting Coroner, Mr. A. R King, held an inquest on the body of Stephen Charles Spencer, an assistant station master, in the G. I. P. Railway.

Mrs. Harriet Spencer, widow of the deceased stated in her evidence that they had been married nearly 32 years, and had a grown up daughted, their only child. Since January 1st of this year the deceased had been on furlough, and he was asked to retire on account of his failing health. They had been residing in Flora Building, Clare Road, since the 18th October last. The deceased had been taking Fellow's Syrup, and before that he had taken a bottle of Easton's Syrup. Along with Fellow's Syrup, he had been taking strychnine and iron pills; he took one pill twice a day. He finished one bottle and began another on the 20th instant. He took the syrup without measuring it, and she had once pointed out to him that he had measured out three tea-spoonfuls. Late at night on the 23rd instant the deceased said he was not feeling well and took a dose of Eno's Fruit Salt. On the 24th the deceased did not feel all right and he took a dose of the syrup and the pills. Dr. Banerji who treated the eyes of the deceased had asked him to take the pill's. The deceased did not like the idea of retiring on half pay and was worried about his his eyes. On the morning of the 24th the deceased went to Dr. Apoo's dispensary, and as he was worse on Tuesday witness sent for Dr. D'Avoine who gave him a letter to the J. J. Hospital where witness took him. He was given some medicine there, and the witness was asked to take him to the St. George's Hospital, where he was brought about 1 p.m. The deceased did not know that he was taking too much poison, and he had not said that he was tired of life. They had lived together happily.

Miss Millicent Spencer, sister of the deceased stated that he was in the habit of taking patent medicines, and she had told him to discontinue the practice. The deceased lived happily with his wife and witness did not suspect any foul play. He was a sober, steady man and what troubled him was that he would lose his sight.

Prembai, an ayah in the deceased's service corroborated the first witness' evidence and further enquiry was adjourned.

HOME RULE BRANCH AT DELOR.

GODHRA, Dec. 24.

A Deputation from the Godhra Home Rule League visited Delor, Kalot Taluk Panchmahals. A mass meeting was held, and resolutions were passed welcoming Mr. Montagu, and demanding the Congress League scheme. A local branch of the league was also established. The deputation visits Jantral on the 26th. Sanseli 27th, Kanod 28th, Pavaghad 29th, Goraj 31st.

POLICE DETECTIVE TRAINING COLLEGE.

(Associated Press.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

A police detective training college has been started at Howrah for instructing members of the Bengal Police Force in the scientific methods of investigation crime. The course of studies is for one year only. Officers of eight to ten years' experience who have shown detective aptitude and acumen are to be admitted as students.

COAL CONTROL.

(Associated Press.)

CALCUTTA. Dec. 26.

Notices have been issued by the Coal Controller restricting the supply of wagons for collieries working inferior quality coal, owing to great demand for first class Indian coal for war purposes and the impossibility of detailing enough railway rolling stock to convey it rendering it impossible to carry the more bulky inferior coals in addition. Inferior coal not only absorbs valuable mining labour which would otherwise increase the output of first class coal, but in consequence of taking up more wagons for equivalent heating capacity it also makes demands upon railways entirely disproportionate to the extent it relieves pressure upon the coal market. To concentrate largely upon the production of first class coal is thus a great economy in labour and rolling stock which are both depleted owing to war conditions and this will now be done.

SHIFTING OF FORCES ON ASIAGO PLATEAU.

PARALYSING EFFECT OF SNOW ON ENEMY.

(Associated Press.)

ALLAHABAD, Dec. 26.

The "Pioneer" special cable says:—

The "Times" correspondent with the French in Italy writing on the 20th instant explains that the number of enemy troops westward of the Asiago plateau has remained constant since their advance on the Piave, but there has been considerable shifting of forces from the front between Vidor on the Piave and the sea to that between Vidor and the Asiago. Nearly the whole of these transferred troops have been put in positions west of those held by the French and British, so that the weight of the main attack has been directed against the Italians guarding the two banks of the Brenta with Mount Grappa and the Asiago plateau as the chief points of resistance.

The correspondent describes the position as serious, but since this was written, the Italians have retaken Mount [illegible] which threatened to outflank Mount Grappa from the west and the long [illegible] snow has fallen in the mountains. Kaiser has claimed to have abolished Russian winter but he has yet to prove that he can conquer the Apline [illegible] on the British front. A much lighter snowfall had a paralysing effect. Every gun moved now leaves a track readily visible from the air and every one fired makes a black patch rendering the most skilful camouflage useless.

A SIGNIFICANT REQUEST.

(Associated Press.)

LAHORE, Dec. 26.

A "Civil and Military Gazette's" special cable says:—

Siegfried Wagner has issued a request to his friends not to call on the occasion of his mother's birthday since the supply of coal does not permit of the drawing room being heated.

ENEMY OFFENSIVE AGAINST ITALY CONDEMNED.

(Associated Press.)

LAHORE, Dec. 26.

A "Civil and Military Gazette's" special cable says:—

The "Berliner Zeitung" condemns the offensive against Italy and asks what right Hindenburg has to sacrifice the flower of Germany's youth to assist Austria in a mad enterprise which may easily result in a disaster.

AUSTRIAN UNWILLINGNESS.

TO SEND TROOPS TO FLANDERS.

(Associated Press.)

LAHORE, Dec. 26.

A "Civil and Military Gazette's" special cable says:—

The Zurich correspondent of the Central News Agency states that the socialist deputy declared in the Reichstrath that the Austrian people would not consent to sending troops to Flanders. They would not make a separate peace in the East in order to make a separate war in the West.

2½ RUPEE NOTES.

(Associated Press.)

DELHI, Dec. 26.

A sufficient supply of 2½ rupee notes have been received in India. It is proposed to begin their issue at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras on the 2nd January, 1918. They will be made available to the public on the same conditions as one rupee notes and same facilities as are given to one rupee notes will be afforded for their encashment.

FIRST BENE-ISRAEL CONFERENCE.

On Tuesday, the 25th December, there opened in the hall of the Israelite School, Mazagon, the proceedings of the First Bene-Israel Conference which has been organised by a Committee appointed for the purpose at a General Meeting of the Community in Bombay held on the 11th November last. The object of the Conference is to deliberate upon Social, Religious, Educational and Economic conditions of the Community and such other questions (not of a political nature) affecting the Community. A number of delegates from Bombay and places outside were present, including a number of lady delegates. The Conference was presided over by Dr. Joseph Benjamin a prominent citizen of Ahmedabad and the leader of the Bene-Israel Community there. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. E. Moses, opened the proceedings in a speech wherein he referred briefly to the conditions of the Community in Bombay and the need of concentrated effort required to lift the Community out of its present backward condition. The President, Dr. Joseph Benjamin, in the course of his address dwelt on the past history of the Community in India with special reference to the progress which the Community had achieved since the advent of the British rule. He also reviewed the advance the Community had made in education during the last fifty years and the distinction achieved therein during recent years by some of the young men and women of the Community. He insisted on the necessity of making the Synagogues a living force and appealed for efforts to be made to impart religious education and to promote the cause of higher and technical education. He also urged the establishment of co-operative societies to meet with the exigencies of the present times and ended by appealing to the Community in general to unite in the good cause represented by the Conference.

After the appointment of the subjects committee the Conference adjourned. The Conference will continue its sittings on the 26th and 27th instant when many resolutions will be discussed and passed.

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THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

Thursday, December 27, 1917.

A CLARION CALL.

India demands Home Rule for two reasons, one essential and vital, the other less important but weighty; First because Freedom is the birthright of every Nation: secondly, because her most important interests are now made subservient to the interests of the British Empire without her consent, and her resources are not utilised for her greatest needs.—Mrs. Besant.

We publish in to-day's issue the full text of the moving and masterly address which Mrs. Annie Besant delivered as President of the 32nd session of the Indian National Congress, which commenced its sittings in Calcutta yesterday. It had been anticipated for sometime that this year's meeting of the Congress would be a memorable one in the history not only of that institution, but of India's latter-day political history. And it is now possible to say, with perfect accuracy, that the forecast has come true. The Congress has met this year in circumstances as unprecedented as they are also unprecedentedly auspicious for the future destiny of this ancient land. The one outstanding and unquestionable fact pertaining to the India of to-day is that, after long, weary years of darkness and despondency, she has been touched afresh by the breath of liberty, and the dead bones in her valley are vibrant again with the promise of resurrection. Apart from that subjective phase, for which may justly be claimed the first importance, there are other attendant aspects of the phenomenon full of moment and vital promise. Thirty-two years ago the Indian National Congress came into being as the concrete expression and embodiment of an impregnable conviction. That conviction was that Providence had linked the fate of India with that of England for an immeasurable purpose: a beneficent purpose, which has unfolded itself with growing vividness with the passage of years. Notwithstanding all doubts and difficulties, it has been in the light of that conviction that the Indian National Congress has steered itself with staunch steadfastness for a whole generation, and interpreted alike the sentiment and the aspirations of the Indian nation. Today it stands a living vindication of that faith. It set out to win Self-Government for India: England herself has solemnly admitted the claim, and her statesmen at this very hour are engaged in considering the practical steps that would be necessary for its realization. It is an event for which India may well be grateful, and of which England may justly be proud. It marks the beginning of a new epoch, the shaping of a new synthesis, in the immemorial history of this land.

Neither the time nor the space at our disposal would permit of an adequate review of the exhaustive and impressive address of Mrs. Besant. It constitutes a complete and faithful statement of the Indian case, and, incidentally, it is a monument to the vision, fidelity and staunchness of the gifted and heroic soul whom India has delighted to honour with the highest honour in her bestowal. She has risen to the full height of the great trust and trusteeship with which she was charged, and the whole world may now know,—as it will know,—what India wants, and why. On its political side, the Indian case for national rehabilitation, for national life, and national self-realization, has been presented many a time, and presented with unanswerable force and cogency. Mrs. Besant's special contribution to the discussion lies, appropriately enough, in the spiritual interpretation she has brought to bear on the national demands of India. Not all the debates, and all the juxtaposition of *pros* and *cons* over conflicting "schemes" and "memorandums", can obscure or diminish the supreme justification of India's claim for a free and unfettered national existence. That central fact emerges with rare clarity from Mrs. Besant's address: "Self-Government is necessary to the self-respect and dignity of a People; other Government emasculates a Nation, lowers its character and lessens its capacity." Then again, what is a Nation? We have all heard a great deal in recent months of the principle of nationality, as a political maxim. Mrs. Besant has done well to remind us that it also, and primarily, connotes a spiritual truth of eternal significance:

"For what is a Nation? It is a spark of the Divine Fire, a fragment of the Divine Life, outbreathed into the world, and gathering round itself a mass of individuals, men, women and children, whom it binds together into one. Its qualities, its powers, in a word, its type, depend on the fragment of the Divine Life embodied in it, the Life which shapes it, evolves it, colours it, and makes it One. The magic of Nationality is the feeling of oneness, and the use of Nationality is to serve the world in the particular way for which its type fits it. This is what Mazzini called 'its special mission,' the duty given to it by God in its birth-hour. * * * To render its full service to Humanity it must develop along its own lines, and be Self-determined in its evolution. *It must be itself, and not another.* The whole world suffers where a Nationality is distorted or suppressed, before its mission to the world is accomplished."

India has too long been Another; it must now be Itself.

THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION.

He would be a brave man who dared to prophesy the course of events in Russia in the next few months. Apart from the conflicting reports of events now taking place, there appear many contradictions in the accounts we have been receiving of the attitude of various classes of Russian subjects. Then, too, there is always the danger that our ideas should be governed by our wishes rather than the facts presented by the course of events. Yet it is necessary that an attempt should be made to understand the forces which are at work even though we may not be able to predict the resultant events. In previous articles we have tried to estimate the rallying forces in that distracted country, and to point out the real character of the section that still holds the reins of Government in Petrograd. We may now draw attention to certain facts in connection with the Ukraine Movement which ought to be kept in mind if we are rightly to appreciate the great movement which appears to be centreing in itself the forces opposed to the insane, self-appointed leaders who are at the present moment seeking to bring about a separate peace, and to impose an anarchist form of government on the people at the point of the sword. Already there are signs not only of the certain failure of their negotiations with Germany, but of the dissatisfaction of the Russian people who are beginning to realise that their actions are calculated not only to further increase the chaos in the country, but to place the Russian Government outside the range of the world's reliance and trust. We have never wavered in our conviction that the Bolseviks, though of the people, do not represent any but a minority. The events of the past month are opening the eyes of the Russian to the seriousness of the problems this little clique has raised, and when it is realised that the destruction of the army has destroyed their hopes of remaining firm to the Allies in the field, there can be little doubt of the action of the Russian people. At the present moment the conservative forces of the revolutionary party, who comprise now by far the majority of the nation, are unorganised. The Council of Workmen and Soldiers is too deeply wedded to the idea of "Peace without annexations and indemnities," in the narrow sense of the phrase, to provide any rallying ground for the forces that desire above all things to remain loyal in their undertakings, and to carry on the war at all costs till the enemy is beaten. Still there is reason to believe that the saner elements within it will strive to put an end to the present disorder and the infamous methods of the Bolseviks.

As far as can be judged at present, the direction in which we must look for organised opposition to the Bolseviks is the Ukraine question which is closely associated with the Cossack movement under Generals Kaledin and Korniloff. Doubtless before long these two movements will be strengthened by the adhesion of others. We shall not attempt to suggest the value of such a movement to the Allies from the point of view of actual military assistance, but it is easy to see that the advantage of having the country in a more settled condition, with men at the head who will, even if unable to bring the nation into the battlefield again in their old power, do much to prevent the success of those pro-German campaigns which have had such a disturbing effect. In the early days of the Revolution the Ukraine movement was very much to the fore, and their insistence on certain rights proved most disconcerting to the Provisional Government who were prepared to consider them sympathetically, though not ready to sanction any scheme of self-government without a mandate from the people through the Constituent Assembly. But the demand became more and more insistent, and under pressure, they were forced to accede to measures which handed over the people known by this name to the control of their elected Rada or Parliament. Certain limitations were placed on the administration, designed to keep up the close connection between the Russian Constituent Assembly and the Ukraine. The Council-General was instructed to administer the country, including the provinces of Kieff, Volhynia, Podolia, Politava and Chernigoff under the authority of the Assembly. Had this measure not been granted the Ukrainian Army would have refused to fight. The Ukrainians have now declared that they refuse to acknowledge the authority of the present government, and have declared themselves a Republic. But it is evident from the news received from Reuter that this movement is not merely a matter of domestic politics, for the Maximalists acknowledge the right of the Ukraine Republic to separate from Russia, but is definitely connected with the opposition to the People's Commissioners, as the Leninites style themselves. The Ukraine Rada have disarmed the Soviet Red Guards, they have ordered the Bolseviks to cease interfering with the administration of the town of Odessa, they have refused to allow a Bolsevik expedition against the Cossacks to pass through the Ukraine, they have themselves sent troops in the direction of the Don and the Urals evidently with the idea of joining forces with the Cossacks. The Bolseviks have decided to send troops against them, and already sanguinary fighting has taken place. If a real union between the leaders of the Ukraine and the Cossacks can be brought about quickly there is some hope of a strong force being available to counteract the influence and power of the section that has usurped the control of the administration.

If this really comes to pass, and the Ukraine movement becomes the instrument of shattering the German schemes, another of the many intrigues which the enemy has carried in the countries of the Allies will have miscarried. The Germans have persistently sought to take advantage of more than one national movement with the object of using them for their own ends. We have seen this in Italy, Ireland, Egypt, Poland, and even India, and they should by now have realized that the game does not pay. The Ukraine movement has been exploited from the beginning of the war by both Austrians and Germans, and there is abundant evidence that the official organisation, the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine, was subsidised by large grants from these two governments. They knew that a claim for complete Ukrainian independence was one that no Russian Government could listen to for vital and geographical reasons, and that any attempt to assert this claim would lead to grave internecine troubles, if not open war. Under the old regime this movement was kept in check, but on the outbreak of the Revolution, the claim was quickly advanced with threats to the Provisional Government. The German military authorities conceived the idea of separating the Russian Ukrainian prisoners of war from the rest of the prisoners and placing them in separate camps for the purpose of spreading ideas favoured by their government. Many of these were sent back to their homes with instructions to urge the independence of the Ukraine on the people. The Germans laid hands on the Union and tried to get as many Ukrainians as possible to join, and for this purpose they spent large sums of money. While their intrigues met with a certain amount of success, it is certain that the people of the Ukraine, as a whole, have been opposed to these manœuvres and the National Council of Kiev under its President, Professor Housevsky, the intellectual leader of the Ukraine movement, has consistently refused to enter into relations with the Union. The national movement is a real one, for the Ukrainians have always been waiting for an opportunity to declare their independence. Their leaders have for a long time watched the vicissitudes of international relations either to secure complete independence or the restoration of their old rights. Ever since the Russian Government began to assimilate these people themselves are gifted and far in advance of the average Russian subject. Their standard of comfort is higher than that of the latter. From the point of view of numbers, too, they deserve consideration. In Russia there are 28,000,000; in Austria-Hungary there are 3,000,000 in Galicia, 500,000 in Bukhuvina, and 700,000 in the Carpathian District in Hungary. If the national aims of the movement are to find fulfilment it will be necessary for the Ukrainians living in Austria-Hungary to join forces with the Little Russians. We have little information on the attitude of these people, but if the national feeling is comparable with that of the Poles in the dismembered parts, then the movement will not be a help to the Central Powers. Meanwhile, this movement, in combination with the Cossacks should act as a set off to the unscrupulous rashness of the small section which is jeopardising the aims of the Allies as well as the future of the Russian people.

Notes of the Day.

The Integrity of Persia.

Amidst the intense and spectacular events of the war, little, if anything, has been heard about Persia. The Russian revolution, indeed, revived the hopes of the Persians that their "Constitution," inaugurated amidst the enthusiastic approval of the world, and so tragically crushed, would again be a reality. The statement made by Mr. Bonar Law in the Commons last week must go far to strengthen those natural hopes. In reply to a question Mr. Bonar Law explicitly contradicted a statement that seems to have recently been made in Petrograd to the effect that the late Russian Government agreed that Great Britain should exercise a predominant *role* in the former neutral sphere in Persia, and that the South Persian Rifles were to be introduced as a first step towards the occupation of that district. Mr. Bonar Law explained the real purpose for which that force was created, namely, ensuring order and tranquility throughout the South in the interests of both Persia and Great Britain. The latter's trade with South Persia was considerable, while the Persian Government's resources were not equal to maintaining the necessary order.

Pledges Reaffirmed.

"The existence of such a force," Mr. Bonar Law added, "must not be construed as implying any departure from the Imperial Government's well-known policy of friendship towards Persia, or from pledges in respect of Persia's independence, still less as an indication of any design of annexation." We have moved far forward since the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed. There is no doubt that the existence of that Convention, and, still more, its enforcement by the Russian autocracy, proved detrimental to Persian Constitutionalism. It may now be hoped that "the pledges in respect of Persia's independence," which Mr. Bonar Law reiterated, will be fulfilled in the spirit as well as in the letter. That would mean that Persia will be allowed to work out her own salvation and regain her proper place in the comity of nations.

India the Exception!

The importation of liquor into Canada, according to a Reuter's telegram to-day, is prohibited, the manufacture of liquor having been already prohibited. Thus the great self-governing Dominion has translated into practice a conviction that the progress of the war has brought home to all thinking minds—and makes a considerable contribution towards the prosecution of war. That conviction was expressed early in the war by the far-seeing statesman who is now the Premier of England: viz., that the greater of the two enemies the Allies have to fight is drink. Russia was the first to inaugurate a policy of abolition. France and England followed with rigorous measures to restrict liquor traffic. The United States took a bolder and more statesmanlike step by prohibiting the manufacture and use of liquor altogether. Now Canada has come into line. Only India—not the people but the Government of India—refuses to move and to profit by the example of the great democracies of the world—with the result that in a country where abolition would be in consonance alike with the religious sentiments and the social customs of the people, the excise revenue is on the increase—and the evil of drink grows apace.

Official and Personal.

Mr. B. G. Horniman, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. S. G. Banker left Bombay, for Calcutta on Monday. The Hon. Mr. Jinnah, The Hon. Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Umar Sobani also left Bombay on Tuesday last to attend the Congress.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India and H. E. The Governor were present at the Races on Wednesday afternoon.

His Excellency The Viceroy, the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India and H. E. the Governor were the Guests of the President and Members of the Byculla Club at Dinner on Wednesday evening.

slopes upwards so that persons holding tickvisitors of various provinces.

His Excellency the Viceroy and their Excelliencies the Governor and Lady Willingdon attended Divine Services at All Saints Church on Tuesday morning.

His Excellency the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India, and their Excellencies the Governor and Lady Willingdon motored out to Vehar Lake and had tea there on Tuesday afternoon.

THE SCANDAL OF BENGAL INTERNMENTS

BY SYUD HOSSAIN.

[REPRINTED FROM "YOUNG INDIA."]

The scandal of the Bengal Internments has become a chronic cancer in the Indian body politic. Public opinion and feeling in the matter having exhausted, months since, its emotion in impotent indignation, has latterly settled down to a mood of bitter dismay. It is an amazing and characteristic feature of this sorry business that no one seems to know the whole extent of the scandal. Exhaustive interpellations have been attempted in the Bengal Legislative Council from time to time, but even they have not sufficed to bring all the facts to light. We should like, for instance, authentic information on the following points—(1) what is the total number of detenus in Bengal with their respective ages; (2) how many cases of suicide have taken place among them, and in what circumstances; and (3) how many of the detenus have become insane while under detention. Of course there are any number of vitally important questions that can be asked and which will have, sooner or later, to be answered in regard to this matter. Meanwhile the mystery continues to be both deep and dark,—being lit up now and again in the flash of some such announcement as the one of September 24th last, to the effect that a detenu Sachindra Das Gupta, a fourth year student of the Ripon College, and son of a pleader of Rangpur had committed suicide after writing a letter to the District Magistrate bitterly complaining of his treatment by the police, and another letter of complaint to the local C. I. D. officer. Another side of the scandal was well illustrated in a case which came to light only a couple of weeks ago. Who does not know of the fervid official protestations that detenus are given full opportunities to explain and defend themselves. Early this month, for instance, Lord Ronaldshay declared, in the Bengal Legislative Council, that—"Every person dealt with under it (the Defence of India Act) is charged in writing with a definite offence, and is invited to write his reply." It may be as well to mention, in passing, that probably his Excellency had a mental reservation in making this bland and comforting statement, which the public would also do well to observe,—viz., that the declaration in question, for what it is worth, applies only to those penalised under the Defence of India Act, and not to those who have been nominally dealt with under other regulations, and whose number is believed to be not inconsiderable. Anyway, useful light was thrown on the accuracy of Lord Ronaldshay's assurance within a very few days of its having been offered. Not, indeed, that other facts are not within the knowledge of the public to enable them to appreciate the value of the declaration to which we have referred. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" cited the following case which was flatly contradictory of his lordship's statement. According to our contemporary's account, Babu Satyendra Chunder Mitra, M.A., B.L., Vakeel, High Court, was, all of a sudden, arrested and interned at Char Jangira in Faridpur District. Representations and memorials for his release were of no avail and he is not even now aware of the cause of his detention. He was not even allowed the opportunity of joining his brothers in the performance of his father's "Sradh" ceremony which came off some months back. The latter facts are that Satyen's elder brother, Babu Rajani Chandra Mitra, Pleader, seeing in the papers that some detenus had been and were being released on security, applied to the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on the 18th September last, praying for Satyen's release on security and also to allow Rajani Babu and his mother to have an interview with him. In reply, the authorities, while granting the necessary permission to interview Satyen, informed Rajani Babu that Government were not prepared to release Babu Satyendra Chandra on security. Accordingly Rajani Babu with his mother saw Satyendra at Char Jangira during the Puja holidays and came to know of the true state of affairs. Satyen, in his first memorial to Government, had definitely stated "that he did not know what were the definite charges against him;" and that as he was quite sure of his innocence he would be quite ready to explain and to prove his innocence with regard to the allegations against him. But no such opportunity has ever been given to him. This is the general rule, says the "Patrika." "Many detenus are prepared to establish their innocence by an open trial. But the authorities do not venture to accept their challenge. What does it prove? The Government is not sure of their guilt and is yet treating them practically like convicted prisoners." This, we need hardly remind our readers, is only one case out of many where the Government's claim of affording suitable opportunities of explanation to the hapless detenus has been specifically called into question.

At a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held on Tuesday last, the Hon. Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur, moved the following resolution:

"This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that an advisory committee of officials and non-officials consisting, among others, of an Indian Judge of the High Court and a practising member of the Calcutta Bar, be appointed to investigate into and report upon all internment cases that have already taken place and that may take place in future and to recommend in each case—(a) the place of detention; (b) the allowance to be granted to the *detenu* and to the members of the family as may be deemed necessary; (c) the educational facilities which may be required in particular cases; and that the said advisory committee be empowered to co-opt any resident in the district wherein the persons affected live and who, in their opinion, is likely to be of assistance in the investigation and examination of the case."

The Hon. Member pointed out that the purpose he intended the proposed Committee to serve was quite different from that which the Committee recently appointed by the Government would have in view.

(Continued on page 10.)

BRITISH SUCCESS NEAR YPRES.

ITALIANS ARREST ENEMY PROGRESS.

FURTHER ADVANCE IN PALESTINE.

BRITISH SUCCESS NEAR YPRES.

VIGOROUS BOMBING IN PROGRESS.

PRISONERS TAKEN NEAR CAMBRAI.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

A communiqué from Field-Marshal Haig dated the 24th says we drove off raiders south east of Ypres. There was hostile artillery work at Epehy and southward of Poelcapelle. There was vigorous bombing and air fighting in spite of the haze. Enemy artillery and machines were active.

We brought down five in air-fighting and two others by gunfire. One of the latter was a large twin-engine machine with three occupants, who were taken prisoners. Our night fliers bombed several aerodromes with good effect. One of the squadrons in the daylight dropped a ton of bombs on Mannheim. Bursts were observed at main station works and fires in the town. Enemy scouts repeatedly but unsuccessfully attacked our machines. Heavy anti-aircraft fire forced down one of our machines, but the others returned.

A communiqué from Field-Marshal Haig dated 25th says we took a few prisoners in patrol encounters southward of Cambrai. There was mutual cannonading westward of Labassee and eastward of Ypres.

ENEMY RAIDERS DRIVEN OFF,

LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 8 30 a.m. Dec. 25.

A British communiqué says we drove off attempted raids south-westward of Epehy, in the neighbourhood of Monchy-Lepreux and westward of Labassee.

RAID ON BURGES DOCKS.

ST. DENIS WESTREM AND GHISTELLES BOMBED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 1-30 p.m. Dec. 26.

The Admiralty announces that during the night of 23rd.—24th our aircraft dropped three tons of explosives on the Bruges' docks and one and a half tons on the atrodromes at St. Denis Westrem and Ghistelles. All returned.

ARTILLERY FIRING.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 6-35 p.m. Dec. 26.

To-night's communiqué from Field-Marshal Haig reports mutual artillery firing and patrol encounters.

BRITISH REPORT.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 26.
Recd. 11-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

In last night's communiqué Sir Douglas Haig said, there is nothing to report.

SIR D. HAIG'S INSPIRITING MESSEGE.

TO ARMIES IN FRANCE.

LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

Field-Marshal Haig, in a special Order to the Armies in France, says:—

"Our victories and successes have been very considerable and might well have led to early and complete victory but for the Russian collapse. It behoves us to harden our hearts and steel ourselves to further effort. I have every confidence that the same courage and determination as in the past will be forthcoming to meet further demands for the safety of our hearths and homes in the coming year."

ONE HUNDRED AIR FIGHTS.

28 ENEMY MACHINES SHOT DOWN.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 25.

A French communiqué says from the 21st. instant to the 23rd. there were one hundred air fights mostly over the enemy lines. Eighteen enemy aeroplanes were brought down and ten were set, on fire or were destroyed by crashing down.

We dropped 18,000 kilogrammes of bombs on railway stations, munition works, cantonments and military buildings.

TWO GERMAN AEROPLANES BROUGHT DOWN.

ENEMY STILL BOMBING DUNKIRK.

LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

A French communiqué says, two German aeroplanes were brought down. Enemy aeroplanes bombed Dunkirk in the evening of the 22nd. There were several victims.

LIVELY FIGHTING ON CHRISTMAS DAY.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 26.
Recd. 6-35 p.m. Dec. 26.

Last night's French communiqué said:—On Christmas Day there was moderate artillery activity on the greater part of the front. It was fairly lively on the right of the Meuse.

FIERCE FIGHTING ON ASIAGO.

ENEMY PROGRESS ARRESTED.

MANY BATTERIES AND MACHINE-GUNS RECOVERED

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

An Italian communiqué says on the Asiago plateau the battle continued fiercely and sanguinarily all day. Our counter-attacks succeeded in arresting the enemy. We recovered batteries and machineguns abandoned in the prebious fighting. Our fire destroyed an enemy column advancing from Bertigo. We recovered and held for some time the summit of Mount Valbella. We also recaptured the slopes of Coldelrosso and engaged the enemy under the summit in a heavy hand-to-hand fight in which we took prisoners.

ITALY'S DETERMINATION.

BIG GOVERNMENT MAJORITY.

ROME, Dec. 24.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

The big Government majority in the Chamber is generally considered an overwhelming proof of the nation's solidarity to make any sacrifice necessary to pursue the war with increased vigour and as a complete overthrow of the interventionist movement.

BRITISH WORK ON ITALIAN FRONT.

GOOD WORK BY AIRMEN.

LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

A British communiqué from Italy says, since a portion of the Italian front was taken over active patrol and counter-battery work has been carried out and our airmen have given a good account of themselves. The cold is severe.

EFFECTIVE ITALIAN RESISTANCE.

ENEMY DRIVEN TO LEFT BANK OF PIAVE VECCHIA.

LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 8 30 a.m. Dec. 25.

An Italian communiqué says the enemy yesterday morning, in the Buso-Mount Valbella sector broke in our defences, but we stopped him at the rear positions. Our counter-attacks are progressing satisfactorily.

We drove the enemy to the left bank of the Piave Vecchia, southward of Gradenigo.

ENEMY ATTEMPT TO BREAK THROUGH.

ALLIES' FIRMNESS.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)
LONDON, Dec. 26.
Recd. 5 p.m., Dec. 26.

Reuter's correspondent with the French Army in Italy, referring to the vigorous Austrian offensive on the Asiago Plateau west of the Brenta mentioned in the Italian communiqué, anticipates that if the enemy maintains his gains he will attack the Monte Grappa position in great force. Allied staffs are prepared for all eventualities.

The enemy is able to shell the nearest villages in the plain, but there is little likelihood that he will succeed in breaking through from the hills. Nevertheless, the ensuing week will be an anxious one for Italy and the Allies. The favourableness of the weather is such that the enemy is likely to endeavour to force the winter campaign to a decision without delay.

ARREST OF AMERICAN RED CROSS AGENT.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
NEW YORK Dec. 24.
Recd. 1-30 p.m. Dec. 25.

A telegram from Petrograd says Trotzky has announced that Colonel Kolpassnikoff, the agent in Petrograd for the American Red Cross mission in Roumania, has been arrested in connection with instructions given him to send automobiles to Rostoff.

The American Ambassador in Petrograd states that neither the Embassy nor the Red Cross are in any way involved in any counter-revolutionary movement.

FURTHER ADVANCE IN PALESTINE.

FIVE MORE TOWNS OCCUPIED.

BOMBS ON RETREATING ENEMY.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

An official communiqué from Palestine says:—Our troops on the extreme left with naval co-operation on Saturday continued to advance northward of Nahrelauja reaching line Sheik-elBallutah Elji'il four miles northward of the river. We occupied Fejja and Mulebbis southward of the river and also Rantieh, Khelbeuda and Khelbireh.

Two and a half tons of bombs were dropped on retreating enemy causing many casualties and also on rolling stock and transport. Machineguns fired 6,000 rounds on an enemy column at a short range.

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS FROM BETHLEHEM.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 6-35 p.m. Dec. 26.

General Allenby has sent a message to General Pershing saying:—The British troops in Bethlehem on Christmas Eve send their American comrades a message of greeting, and hope that through the achievement of their common purpose the law of force may yield to the force of law and peace and goodwill reign at length on earth.

RECENT ARAB SUCCESS NEAR TEBUK.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY WAR OFFICE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 22.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

The following is the full text of the War Office's announcement regarding the Arab success near Tebuk:—Reports have been received that an Arab force under Sherif Feisal son of the King of Hedjaz has destroyed a troop train south of Tebuk on the Hedjaz Railway some 350 miles north of Medina. The whole Turkish detachment in the train was killed or captured, among the former being Suleiman Pasha Rifada, the paramount chief of the Billi tribe, who foolishly throwing in his lot with the Turks was travelling in company with them. Threehundred rifles were captured and large quantity of ammunition and also 24,000 pounds Turkish in gold.

WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS FOR HARBIN.

ORDERED BY TROTZKY.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PETROGRAD, Dec. 25.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

Trotzky has instructed the commander of the Russian troops at Harbin to request the withdrawal of the foreign troops.

ORDER RESTORED AT HARBIN.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

Telegrams from Peking state that owing to the arrival of Chinese troops order has been restored at Harbin.

THE "VORWAERTS" RESUMES PUPLICATION.

THE MIGHTY CURRENT AFTER WAR.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
AMSTERDAM, Dec. 24.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

The Vorwaerts has resumed publication. It gives prominence to the Food Controller's defence which *inter alia* admits that illicit trade had assumed such proportions as to endanger the general foodsupply.

THE FIRE AT KRUPPS.

(Ruter's Telegram.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 1-30 p.m. Dec. 25.

The "Handelsblad" states that the explosion at Krupps occurred in a building where there were a thousand workers. The wooden portion of the building was entirely burnt down but there were no fatalities. Work in this section is entirely stopped.

BOLSHEVIKS' MODIFIED ATTITUDE.

FOOD SUPPLY FROM DON CUT OFF.

SOCIAL CATASTROPHE THREATENED.

AMSTERDAM, Dec. 24.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

"The Times" correspondent in Petrograd points out that the endeavours of the Bolsheviks to come to terms with the Ukraine and their modified attitude to the Constituent Assembly indicate that the Bolsheviks are realising their danger. All southern Russia is now anti-Bolshevik. The food supply threatens to become shorter and coal supply from Don is cut off. While peace is still remote the war of classes threatens to result in not only social catastrophe but eventual subjection of Russia to German Imperialism.

BOLSHEVIKS CHECKED BY COSSACKS.

ATTACK OF KHARKOFF REPORTED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PETROGRAD, Dec. 24.
Recd. 6-35 p.m. Dec. 26.

The Maximalist News Agency reports that Bolsheviks are attacking Kharkoff. The agency claims that Bolsheviks now control railways to the south. A telegram however reports that a large body of Cossacks and railwaymen near Tsarithin has stopped Bolshevik troops going northward.

ENEMY MOVEMENT FROM RUSSIAN FRONT.

PETROGRAD, Dec. 24.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

Members of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Staff have been released. 6,000 Red Guards from Petrograd and Moscow are being sent against Ukraine. It is reported that the Austrians and the Germans are moving troops from the Russian northern and western fronts to the south-western and Roumanian fronts.

REPORTED MARCH OF CAUCASIAN ARMY.

A telegram from Petrograd of yesterday's date says that a telegram of the Maximalist Press Bureau announces that a Caucasian Army 100,000 strong is marching on General Kaledin's rear.

MAXIMALISTS AND SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES.

AGREE TO FORM COALITION GOVERNMENT.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PETROGRAD, Dec. 25.
Recd. 11-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

Maximalists and Social Revolutionaries of the Left have agreed to form a coalition Government in which the latter will have seven seats. The Maximalists have prohibited the manufacture of arms "in view of the probability of a speedy European peace." It transpires that Maximalist peace conditions include a demand for the speedy evacuation of occupied territories.

The Maximalist News Agency states that the Maximalist delegation at Brest Litovsk has written to the German Foreign Office that peace negotiations may be endangered if German Minority Socialists are not allowed to go to Stockholm to meet Russian Socialists.

The Maximalists claim that six thousand of Korniloff's troops have been completely beaten in the government of Kharkoff.

RUSSIAN COMMANDER IN TURKESTAN

HORRIBLY LYNCHED BY A MOB.

PETROGRAD, Dec. 24.
Recd. 1-30 p.m. Dec. 25.

Message from Tashkent describes the horrible lynching of General Korovitchenko by a mob. M. Kerensky appointed Korovitchenko commander of troops in Turkestan.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

ANGLO-TURKISH AGREEMENT.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 6-35 p.m Dec. 26.

A Geneva telegram to the "Daily News" says that the Anglo-Turkish Conference regarding prisoners of war has ended in complete agreement on all points. The prisoners will travel on British hospital-ships between Constantinople and Marseilles.

NEW PEACE PROPAGANDA

U. S. WAR SECRETARY'S REVIEW.

NO TIME FOR SLACKENING OPERATIONS

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
WASHINGTON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 25.

The War Secretary's weekly review of the war says no matter what the superiority in men and guns, the enemy may temporarily be able to bring in the West and even admitting that there may be an eventual modification of the Allied line in his favour, nevertheless he knows, as far as it is humanly possible to foresee, that his effort will inevitably result merely in local successes.

It would appear that as a forerunner of the heralded German offensive in the west an intensive peace propaganda is to be initiated. A careful examination of the situation reveals that the enemy is again preparing to sue for peace before the Allies are victorious. Germans would have the world believe that the military situation is such that they are able to dictate, the peace terms. They, therefore, threaten that unless this dictated peace is accepted the German forces on the West front will break through the Allied line. Various reports of immediate German peace proposals on seemingly favourable terms should not induce us to slacked our war preparations.

ENEMY DELEGATIONS AT BREST.

AGREEMENT OVER REPLY TO RUSSIAN PEACE PROPOSAL.

AMSTERDAM, Dec. 24.
Recd. 1-30 p.m. Dec. 25.

Enemy delegations at Brest Litovsk have unanimously agreed upon the basis of a reply to the Russian peace proposals. The reply will be formulated to-morrow.

PEACE CONFERENCE AT BRESTLITVOSK.

SIX POINTS PRESENTED BY MAXIMALISTS.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PETROGRAD, Dec. 24.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

The Maximalist delegates presented six points at the Brestlitovsk conference including:—

No forcible acquisition of territory.

Restoration of the political independence of peoples who have lost it during the war.

Self-determination of national groups.

No indemnities.

Private persons to be compensated for war losses from a special fund to which all the belligerents shall contribute on a proportional basis.

Same principles to be applied to colonies as to parent countries and the last clause prohibits economic boycotts, separate customs agreements and naval blockade not pursuing any direct military object.

AUSTRALIAN REFERENDUM.

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION LEADERS EXPRESS WIN-THE-WAR VIEWS,

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

With regard to the Australian refrendum Reuter is informed that all anti-Conscription leaders have expressed strong win-the-war views. Prominent labour leaders are fighting at the front and others have sons there including the Tudor anti-Conscription leader. There is no question of war weariness or pacifism but merely a clash of opinion with regard to numbers which can be spared from agriculture and other industries essential to winning the war. The Commonwealth is maintaining larger forces in the field than all the other Dominions together and her Navy is the only Dominion Navy within the Empire serving since the war broke out. She has paid all her own war expenses. All political parties are unanimous regarding the continuance of the war till victory and the retention of the German Pacific colonies and not slackening war efforts.

WHAT IS ANTI-CONSCRIPTION MAJORITY DUE TO?

A telegram from Melbourne says it is believed that the majority against Conscription is largely due to the solid vote of labour unions smarting under the recent strike defeat and also to the strong campaign by Archbishop Mannix influencing the Catholics and also to the fact that the industrial classes failed to appreciate the larger issues involved.

OTHER CABLE ITEMS.

CHARGES AGAINST M. CAILLAUX AND OTHERS.

ORDER SIGNED FOR HEARING.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
PARIS, Dec. 24.
Recd. 1-30 p.m. Dec. 25.

General Dubail has signed the order for the hearing of charges against Mr. Caillaux, Loustalot and Comby M. Caillaux will be defended by M. Demange, who defended Dreyfus. M. Comby is an ex-barrister. He is alleged to have accompanied M. Loustalot to Switzerland to see the ex-Khedive and to have been present at the interviews between M. Loustalot and Signor Cavallini, an Italian ex-member of Parliament who is now under arrest in Rome.

MILITARISM IN WAR TIME.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
AMSTERDAM, Dec. 24.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

Commenting on Mr. Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons the "Vorwaerts" points out that people during war time are unable to combat militarism but after the war the mighty current which in peace-time have forced militarism on the defensive, will become overwhelming.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ASQUITH.

SEVERELY WOUNDED IN FRANCE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 1-30 p.m. Dec. 25.

Brigadier-General Arthur Asquith, son of the ex-Premier, has been severely wounded in France.

KING RECEIVES SIR E. GEDDES.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 26.
Recd. 11-30 p.m., Dec. 26.

Sir Eric Geddes was received in audience by the King at Sandringham on Christmas morning.

INDIAN SEDITION TRIALS IN AMERICA.

SENTENCES ON THE ACCUSED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)
LONDON, Dec. 22.
Recd. 7-30 p.m., Dec. 25.

The following details have been received regarding the Indian sedition trials in America. In San Francisco the conspiracy case prosecution witnesses examined so far have testified strongly against the accused except one approver who refused to give any evidence and was forthwith arraigned as an accused. He pleaded guilty but subsequently withdrew his plea. His case is still under consideration.

The Germans, Von Bruncken and Schroeder pleaded guilty and the former observed that the least said about the case the better for Germany, adding that every nation at war was bound to be involved in conspiracies. The examination of prosecution witnesses continues.

The conspiracy trial at Chicago has ended in the conviction of four accused upon both the counts, first of engaging in a military enterprise against Great Britain and secondly of conspiracy. Jacobsen Wende and Boehm were sentenced on the first count to three years' imprisonment and a fine of 3,000 dollars each and on the second to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 dollars. The fourth accused H. L. Gupta was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment and a fine of 100 dollars on each count. The sentences of imprisonment will run concurrently.

TERRIBLE CONDITIONS IN LEBANON.

PEOPLE DYING WHOLESALE.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)
ALLAHABAD, Dec. 25.

The "Pioneer's" Cairo correspondent writes:—The latest news from Syria shows the economic conditions are becoming terrible. Especially is this the case in Lebanon against which the Turkish Government has a special grudge. The funds sent from America have for most part been misappropriated by Turkish authorities and where foodstuffs have been purchased a large part has been seized by them. So practically none of the relief has benefited the Lebanese. Government is enrolling all men between the ages of 18 and 50 years and those that are not fit for the front line are sent to dig trenches and do general work behind the lines. The Lebanese are exempted from service, but the object of this clemency is stated to be to exterminate them by starvation, since the men taken for the army have to be fed by government. So as to make sure this policy of extermination shall succeed a cordon has been drawn round the mountain in order to prevent anyone leaving for the interior, where, of course, there is more chance of obtaining food. People are dying wholesale, bodies are met with all over the place and it is a wonder that an epidemic has not broken out before now.

GENERAL GUILLAUMAT AT VERDUN.

LONDON, Dec. 24.
Recd. 1-30 p.m. Dec. 25.

General Guillaumat, successor to General Sarrail at Salonika, commanded an army at Verdun. He is regarded as a brilliant soldier.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

A HISTORIC SITTING.

SPLENDID OVATION TO MRS. BESANT.

REMARKAB E SUPPORT TO HOME RULE.

(From our Special Representative.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 26.

The 32nd session of the Indian National Congress opened to-day amidst the greatest enthusiasm. Long before the arrival of the President-Elect the Congress pandal had been filled to overflowing. The session which promises to be most memorable constitutes a record one. Upto 3 p.m. over 4,500 delegates had arrived and more are expected still. After Bengal's 1,700 Bombay tops with about 900 and Madras 650, the United Provinces and Behar are well represented. The platform was crowded with distinguished people from all parts. Supporting the President-Elect were Rai Baikunthanath Sen Bahadur, Babu Surendranath Bannerjea, Pandit Malaviya, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Gokaranath Misra, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Mr. Hasan Imam, Mr. Sreenivas Sastry, Dewan Bahadur Govindraghava Iyer, Lala Harkishen Lal, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. B. P. Wadia, Mr. Arundale and a host of others. Mr. Tilak and Mr. Khaparde arrived towards the close of the Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and were accorded the heartiest ovation. The proceedings commenced with the singing of welcome songs and the National Anthem which was unusually impressive. Sir Rabindranath Tagore who was vociferously cheered from all sides read a prayer to give us strength to live, specially composed by him for the occasion. The reading was deep and impressive and listened to with wrapt attention, repeated cheers marking it.

Rai Baikunthanath Sen then read his address welcoming the delegates. The Address mainly dealt with the internments and strongly criticised and condemned repressive regime and legislation. It was a remarkable pronouncement in view of the recent appointment of an unsatisfactory commission. The Rai Bahadur thought its synchronising with the Montagu mission and the recent announcement of a liberal policy was extremely significant. The frequent cheering and applause with which his remarks were received reflects the profound dissatisfaction existing in the country regarding the treatment of political discontent. Appeals for a liberal policy regarding political prisoners were received with the completest satisfaction. The Rai Bahadur concluded his address with repeating his welcome to the delegates.

Babu Surendranath Banerjea proposed the election of Mrs. Besant. He paid a high tribute of praise to Mrs. Besant's international personality and her deep and abiding services for the sake of India and her sufferings for India's freedom. He referred with approval to her founding the Home Rule League and how she had electrified our political activities, and trusted to her leadership to lead us, guide us and instruct us in our duties and responsibilities. Dewan Bahadur Govindraghava Iyer, Messrs. Hasan Imam, Bomanji and others supported the proposition which was carried with acclamation.

Mrs. Besant was formally installed in the Presidential chair, after which she delivered her Address. On rising she was greeted with a tremendous unprecedented cheering. She spoke in a clear resonant tone and it was evident she was deeply stirred by the spontaneity and depth of feeling of welcome which greeted her on all sides.

The attendance at to-day's meeting was truly remarkable and according to present estimates 15,000 to 18,000 people were present. To-morrow will be devoted to a meeting of the Subjects Committee. Judging from external evidences considerable feeling exists that only the Home Rule resolution should be taken up at this session. It is reported that an insignificantly small section would favour adherence to the *status quo* achieved last year. The first day's sitting has been remarkably satisfactory both from the point of attendance and orderliness.

Among those present were also Mr. Justice Chaudhury, Mr. Justice and Lady Woodroffe, Mr. Cohen, Dr. Nilratan Sircar, Mr. Provosh Chunder Mitter, Mr. Surendranath Roy, Mr. Mahindranath Roy, Mr. Byomkesh Chakerbutty and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

Telegrams of sympathy were read. The first telegram from the Home Rule League while expressing profound gratitude for the Montagu mission hoped it would lead to justice being done to Indian claims. It urged the release of political prisoners including Messrs. Mohamed Ali and his brother and demanded first the establishment of Home Rule, second, the prohibition of Indian Indentured Labour.

The Transvaal Indian Association approved the Congress-League demands and the Transvaal British Indian Association wished success to the deliberations, Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillay on behalf of the Madras Presidency Association wished success. Another telegram from 700 delegates including Panchamas and Brahmins excluded approved the Congress-League demand and wished success to the Congress.

These telegrams were received with great enthusiasm, especially the Home Rule League reference to the release of political prisoners.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANNERJEA'S SPEECH.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 26.

Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea in proposing Mrs. Besant to the Presidential Chair said:—Mr. Chairman, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I am charged by the Reception Committee to lay before you a proposition, which I am sure will meet with your unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance. I desire to appeal to you to ratify and confirm, the election of Mrs. Besant as president of this year's Congress. Mrs. Besant needs no introduction from me. She has a world-wide name and fame. She is one of the greatest orators of the world. Oratory they say, not I, (laughter) is a divine gift. In her case, it is merged in the grandeur of her personality and in the brilliance of her achievements. I will not refer to her work outside India, and standing on this Congress platform, I can only allude to her achievements in the domain of political reform. But whatever may be the nature, the character and the complexion of her world-wide activities, there is a great outstanding fact, that she has made India her home, not in the sense of many of those who have made it their home for the purpose of exploitation. She has made India her home for the highest aims of the spiritual, the moral, the intellectual and the political salvation of the country. (Hear, Hear.) She loves India with a love exceeding even that of a woman, and that love has been tested by the truest and noblest sacrifice consecrated by suffering. She has suffered for the sake of India and we return her love with enthusiastic gratitude, for we are a grateful people, and in remembrance of her sufferings and in recognition of her services, as a protest against the repressive policy of internment, we have conferred upon her the highest honour which is in our power to bestow, the presidentship of our Congress. Madam we bless also. Providence that you have been selected the victim of this repressive policy, as you have thus attracted to it the attention of the civilised world and such a policy cannot stand the glare of enlightened criticisms. I am sure that we are within a measurable distance of that day when the death-knell of this policy will be sounded. Brother delegates, I will not detain you long, because I have no desire to be between you and the gifted lady who will follow me, but I will say this, that Mrs. Besant has always been in the forefront of the fight for freedom. She founded the Home Rule League. She has by her marvellous work stimulated and fostered the cause of self-government, and I have not the slightest doubt that her internment has imparted an impetus which otherwise would not have been possible. Brother delegates, we are living at a psychological moment in the history of our country. Signs are all in our favour. There are those who would give worlds to avert what they think the evil day and to postpone the fruition of our aspirations. We have got to conteract those by patriotism and unflinching sacrifice, and at such a time so full of promise and so full of difficulties and dangers, we have thought it necessary to install Mrs. Besant in the presidential chair of the National Congress to lead us to guide us, to instruct us, in the firm confidence that she will worthily take her place amongst the greatest and the wisest presidents of the Indian National Congress. With these words, I lay the proposition before you (cheers.)

PRESS COMMENTS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

LUCKNOW, Dec. 26.

The "Indian Daily Telegraph" says:—There are few more cogent remarks in Mrs. Besant's address than that in which she says that the lesson of the war is that India should have Home Rule. The self-respect of a vast people will be raised to a new level by changes which it is in the power of the British to make, and as the war has become a portion of the national life, it is out of the war that these changes will grow. The struggle has proved that India can fight as well as toil, and her help in the hour of necessity is the best claim to consideration of her right to a new place in the Empire.

CONGRESS PANDAL.

A SP CIOUS STRUCTURE.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 26.

The Congress pandal which is compact and presents a picturesque appearance is made of timber, and can hold nine thousand people. The pandal has been designed after the fashion of an old Roman amphitheatre and built in the shape of an ellipse. The whole pandal has been decorated in buff and brown. Seating accommodation slopes upwards so that persons holding tickets for the farthest seats are raised above those who are in front. The press has been accommodated in front of the dais. The main entrance is in Indo-Saracanic style. Besides the main entrance there are seven other entrances for delegates and visitors of various provinces.

SELF-GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION,

KEEN DISCUSSION EXPECTED.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 27.

Considerable interest is centered in the forthcoming discussion at to-morrow's Congress Subjects Committee meeting with regard to the resolutions to be placed before the Congress. The draft resolutions are twelve in number, of which seven are of a formal nature, expressing loyalty to the King-Emperor regret at the deaths of Messrs. Dadabhoy Navroji and A. Rasul, welcoming Mr. Montagu, thanking the British Congress Committee and electing office-bearers.

The most important resolution is that dealing with Self-Government. The draft resolution on Self-Government is more advanced than the one passed last year and approved by the Moslem League. It asks for a full measure of Responsible Government in all branches of Provincial Administration in all important matters. There is likely to be a good deal of discussion with regard to this point, as there is an influential section of moderate public opinion who think that the Congress-League Scheme should be faithfully adhered to without any further advance. There is also a body of opinion equally influential who think the Congress-League scheme did not go far enough, especially in view of the declaration made by the Secretary of State on August 20th. There are yet a few others who hold that Congress-League Scheme does not make for responsible Government. In view of such divers opinions on the question to-morrow will be mainly devoted to the discussion of the Self Government resolution in the Subjects Committee.

Among other draft resolutions are th Press Act, the Internment, Indians and the Army and an omnibus resolution.

The number of delegates registered till late last night exceeded 3,000 a figure not reached at any previous session of the Congress. The registration of delegates is going on this morning also.

CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME,

ATTITUDE OF BENGAL MAHOMEDANS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

This evening a conference of Mahomedan legal practitioners and Moslem members of local self-governing bodies in Bengal was held to consider the question of constitutional reform. The Hon. Mr. Aminur Rahaman presided. The Hon. Mr. Fazlal Huq, at whose instance the conference was called, explained the Congress-League scheme of reforms and the circumstances under which the scheme was drafted and spoke strongly supporting it. A discussion followed, in course of which most of the members supported the scheme. Khan Bahadur Musharaf Hussain of Jalpaiguri spoke expressing his disapproval of the Congress-League scheme. Further discussion was postponed till to-morrow evening.

"CONGRESS DAY" IN BOMBAY

HOME RULE DEMAND EMPHASIZED.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of the Home Rule League, a meeting was held yesterday at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay, when passages from the address of Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the Calcutta Congress were read out. Mr. Kanaiyalal M. Munshi presided and there was a large allendance. The Chairman said this meeting was held in accordance with a recommendation made by the All-India Congress Committee to hold meetings at important places throughout India on the first day of the sitting of the Indian National Congress and there read vernacular translations of the address of the President of the Congress. He then read out a Gujerati translation of passages from the address, several of which were applauded.

Resolutions were then passed supporting the Congress-League scheme of reforms and asking for Self-Government within the British Empire on Colonial lines.

BOMBAY LADIES' MEETING POSTPONED.

The Bombay ladies' meeting that was to have been held yesterday, "Congress Day" under the presidency of Mrs. Jayaker to support the Congress-League Scheme and read the translations in Gujarati and Marathi of the presidential address of Mrs. Besant, had to be unavoidably postponed.

CONGRESS DAY AT HUBLI.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

HUBLI, Dec. 26.

To-day at the Congress Day Meeting Hubli vitizens read with approval Mrs. Besant's Presidential Address and resolved in favour of the Congress-League scheme.

A ladies' meeting was also held at which similar business and similar resclutions were passed.

AT AHMEDABAD.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

AHMEDABADL, Dec. 26.

To carry out the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee a public meeting of Ahmedabad citizens was held in Premabhai Hall to-day under the presidency of Mr. Vallabhabhoy Patel, barrister. Th presidential address of Mrs. Besant was read in Gujarati by Mr. Krishnalal Narsi lal Desai.

AT LUCKNOW.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

LUCKNOW, Dec. 26.

A public meeting attended by over two thousand persons was held under the auspices of the Home Rule League on the National Congress day at Rifahiam Hall Babu Ram Chandra, presiding and the chairman of the meeting read out Mrs. Besant's presidential address amidst repeated rounds of cheers. Her special message to the people of India was distributed and the following resolution was passed:—

"That this meeting of the citizens of Lucknow most earnestly urges that the Government be pleased immediately to grant at least the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the reform committee appointed by the All-India Moslem League, and that in the reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing dominions and that this meeting expresses its gratitude to Mrs. Besant for having given expression with independence and accuracy to the real political opinions and aspirations of the country in her address."

Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the proceedings and the meeting was dissolved with a vote of thanks to the chair proposed by Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan. The proceedings lasted for over three hours.

BRITISH LABOUR AND INDIA'S DEMAND.

"MAGNIFICENT RESPONSE EVERYWHERE".

CABLE FROM MR. BAPTISTA.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

Mrs. Besant has received the following cable from Mr. Baptista from London:—

"Congratulations. Best wishes for the Congress success. Magnificent Labour response everywhere. Genuine sympathy with aspirations of Indian nationalism. Twenty trades and labour councils including Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, representing over 200,000 members have pledged themselves to support Home Rule for India. Hull resolution on the agenda of the Labour Party Conference recommends a new constitution on the lines of the South African constitution with provincial autonomy with power for the people to elect their own governors to be brought into operation within twenty years. "The Times" calls the resolution a newcomer on the Labour agenda."

MOTHER OF ALI BROTHERS

ENTHUSIASTIC PUBLIC RECEPTION AT CALCUTTA.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 26.

The mother of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali arrived here this morning and was given an enthusiastic reception by Moslems and Hindus who were gathered in large number for the purpose. On arrival she was received by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and members of the Moslem League and taken in procession to her residence. It is understood that she will attend the meeting of the All-India Moslem League.

(From a Correspondent.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 26.

Abadi Bano Sahiba, the mother of Mr. Mohamed Ali, the President-elect of the All-India Muslim League at its Calcutta Session, and her party consisting of Dr. M. H. Ansari, Mr. Moozzam Ali, (barrister, Moradadabad) Mr. Manzoor Mahmed, Mr. Tassaddug Ahmed Khan Sherwani, barrister, and Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja, barrister, left Delhi by the express on the might of the 23rd instant for Calcutta. On their journey they were received by enthusiastic crowds at Aligarh, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Mughalsarai, and Patna, who had come to pay their respects to the revered old mother of the trusted leaders. Shouts of "Allah's Akbar" were raised by the people assembled who showed great enthusiasm on seeing her. She was garlanded and feted, and she and her party were hospitably entertained all along the journey by the people with sweets, fruits and sumptuous nashta.

Abadi Bano Sahiba spoke a few words to her brethren thanking them for the hearty reception and enjoining on them strict adherence to the principles and tenets of Islam, and to fear none but the one great God. Her words moved the people to tears. In spite of her infirmity and old age she bore the long and tedious journey well.

DEMAND FOR RELEASE OF MOSLEM LEADERS.

(From a Correspondent.)

LUCKNOW, Dec. 22.

A public meeting of the Musalmans of Lucknow held on the 21st December passed the following resolutions:—

"That this meeting expresses surprise at the inexplicable silence of the Government of India, to the demands of the Musalmans of India for the release of Messrs. Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the former of whom has been unanimously elected President of the All-India Moslem League and prays that the Government will forthwith release the two internees and thus allay the great excitement prevailing among the Musalmans which is prejudicial alike to the interests of the Government and the community."

"This meeting urges the release of all other Muslim internees and hopes that the Government will realize their mistake which is causing distress amongs Musalmans, and release the said internees."

"That a committee be formed to agitate by all constitutional means for the release of the Muslim internees."

AHMEDABAD'S WELCOME TO MR. MONTAGU.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

AHMEDABAD, Dec. 26.

Public meetings of the citizens of Ahmedabad and several villages in the districts of Kaira, Surat and Broach unanimously passed resolutions welcoming the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy to the capital of the Bombay presidency and hoping that the Congress League reform scheme will be given effect to by the Government of India. Many of the above meetings have dispatched telegrams to the secretary to the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu conveying the above resolutions.

THE SCANDAL OF BENGAL INTERNMENTS.

(Continued from page 8.)

The latter would investigate and find out whether there was a widespread criminal conspiracy in India, and suggest necessary legislation, if any were called for. What he wanted was an enquiry of a different sort,—something more than was contemplated by the Government. *"At present,"* said the Rai Bahadur, *"the opinion of the country was that the cases of internment were not justly dealt with."* There was a general demand that the administration of the Defence of India Act should not rest on a single Executive officer, and the hon. member's proposition suggested a course which would bring it into line with the procedure existing in England. An Advisory Board with a local co-opted member, he rightly claimed, would be better able to advise the Government than a single executive officer. This was a remarkably restrained way of referring to a condition of things both gross and notorious, and which has stirred feeling in Bengal, and indeed in the rest of the country, profoundly. Three other Indian members of the Council strongly supported the resolution. Sir Henry Wheeler, however, on behalf of the Bengal Government opposed it. And the arguments he put forward in doing so, afford an index to the prevailing contumacy of officialdom on the subject. The proposal was that in the matter of internments the Government should be fortified by an Advisory Committee. "It was not the wish of the Government," Sir Henry declared, "to neglect the practical means of testing the evidence produced against men dealt with under the Defence of India Act." And in order to fulfil that laudable anxiety, they proposed to persist in the present discredited procedure,—which is that an Executive Officer appointed by them examines the evidence against the men, and "the papers are subsequently placed before a judicial officer" before the final orders are passed. The arrangement reads plausibly, but its disastrous failure, in actual practice, is attested by a score of cases. So much depends on that "judicial" officer! The preternatural versatility of the Indian Civil Service makes the terms "Executive" and "Judicial" in application to them convertible terms! Even so, why, in the first instance, should an "Executive" officer rather than a properly constituted judicial tribunal, or at least a Judge of experience and established reputation, "examine the evidence" against men marked down under the Defence of India Act?

Sir Henry Wheeler mentioned, in a meagre and mysterious manner, that the Bengal Government had made a proposal of considering the internment cases by "two judicial officers," over which they were in communication with the Government of India. He did not indicate precisely what this proposal was intended to cover, or how the "two judicial officers"—presumably to be nominated by the self-same Executive which elects another agent to "examine the evidence" against men reported against by the Police and C. I. D.,—would stand in relation to the Committee which has already been appointed by the Government of India and which shall also include two judicial officers, in respect of their respective duties and functions. However, whatever other object this seemingly superfluous project might be intended to serve, it may be inferred from Sir Henry Wheeler's silence on the point that the "two judicial officers" whom Lord Ronaldshay is desirous of employing to "consider the internment cases," will not take up the urgent and necessary task contemplated in the Hon. Mr. Pal's resolution. After this, Sir Henry had the marvellous self-sufficiency to declare that his Government "had done its best to remove suspicion," and that, graciously enough, "they were willing to carry public opinion with them" As a sample of how they proposed to do it, we may instance an interesting admission in Sir Henry Wheeler's speech. Cases of men seized by the "Executive Officer," with the full concurrence of his colleague, the "Judicial officer," it appears, "are constantly coming to Government for review." And this is the proud record of work done: "In October last no less than 65 persons were either released or had their restrictions mitigated. The total number of persons released up to date from their internment was 132." In spite of it all, Sir Henry complained with righteous sorrow, "the propasal made to-night was that the Government should go further"! It is apparently too much to expect that our "heaven-born" bureaucrats could bring themselves to see that if it was possible for so many innocent men, on his own admission, to be victimised *after* the elaborate and plausible process which Sir Henry Wheeler described, the method *prima facie* has failed. For the moment we are content to convict the Bengal Government out of their own mouth,—putting on one side the vast volume of public "suspicion," as well as public knowledge in the matter, not covered by the official admission we have cited.

HIGH HANDEDNESS IN EAST BENGAL.

ALLEGED THREAT TO MOSLEM DELEGATES.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

The Hon. Mr. Abdul Kasim writes that the Bengal Presidency Moslem League has been informed that certain officials in East Bengal have threatened local Mahomedans that they will get into trouble if they attend the Moslem League meeting in Calcutta.

The following name of a British officer appears in casualty list No. 568, Indian Expeditionary Forces:—Unofficially reported died of wounds while prisoner of war.

I.A.R.O.:—2nd Lieut. R. B. Steele.

THE KING'S CHRISTMAS DAY MESSAGE.

THEIR MAJESTIES' SOLICITUDE FOR SICK AND WOUNDED.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 2 a.m. Dec. 26.

The King in the Christmas Day message to the Navy and the Army sends hearty good wishes for Christmas and New Year and says:—

"I realise your hardships patiently and cheerfully borne and rejoice in the successes you have won so nobly. The nation stands faithful to its pledges and resolute to fulfil them. God bless your efforts and give us victory."

The King and the Queen have sent the following message:—Our Christmas thoughts are with the sick and the wounded sailors and soldiers. We know by personal experience the patience and cheerfulness with which their suffering is borne and wish all speedy restoration to health for restful Christmastide and brighter days to come.

FIGHT TILL FINAL VICTORY.

SIR D. HAIG'S REPLY TO ROYAL MESSAGE.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

LONDON, Dec. 25.
Recd. 6-35 p.m. Dec. 26.

Field-Marshal Haig acknowledging the King's Christmas message to the Navy and Army, assures His Majesty of the forces' determination to fight in defence of the integrity and honour of the Empire until final victory is secured.

Field-Marshal Haig has sent further messages to the Governors-General of the Dominions, and the Governor of Newfoundland conveying the season's heartiest good wishes of all ranks to their respective countries. He has also sent a message to the Commander-in-Chief in India and the centres of operations outside France conveying greetings to comrades.

THE POPE'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE.

ON JERUSALEM GIVEN BACK TO CHRISTIANITY.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

ROME, Dec. 25.
Recd. 2 a.m. Dec. 26.

In the Christmas message to General Vannutello the Pope expresses regret that his efforts at reconciliation have been in vain but adds that nevertheless he will continue his mission of peace throughout the world despite all obstacles. The present calamity will never finish until men and society return to God. In these days we may go in the footsteps of Christ to Jerusalem. Human counsels and divine designs have advanced together, the former by subjugating countries, the latter by granting age long prayer of the Fathers by givng back to Christianity the sacred places where the Blood of the Redeemer was poured out. Jerusalem, the Sacred City and the Blessed Vision of Peace lifts to God the hymn of exultation gratitude and love. All must see that events just accomplished in Jerusalem, have special language which strengthens the invitation we address to people to return to God because in Jerusalem were blessed not those who came in the name of arms but in the name of God.

CHRISTMAS DAY AT THE FRONT.

NO QUESTION OF EVEN TEMPORARY FRATERNISING.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)

LONDON, Dec. 26.
Recd. 5 p.m., Dec. 26.

Reuter's correspondent at Headquarters says:—Christmas Day has been sunny. Festivities have generally been of a modest character compared with those of the previous years, but the usual cheerfulness prevails. There has been no question of even temporary fraternising with the enemy. Plum-pudding has been served out for the first time as a ration. This has previously been provided through private generosity.

Our guns have been active throughout the past twenty-four hours and wrought terrible havoc on the enemy infantry concentration in the neighbourhood of Becelaere yesterday afternoon.

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION MAJORITY IN AUSTRALIA.

MELBOURNE, Dec. 25.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 26.

The referendum figures are now 993,000 against and 820,000 for conscription.

BAN ON IMPORTATION OF LIQUOR INTO CANADA.

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

OTTAWA, Dec. 24.
Recd. 8-30 a.m. Dec. 25.

The importation of liquor into Canada is prohibited. Manufacture has already been prohibited.

A public meeting of the citizens of Bulsar was held on the 24th instant where resolutions were passed welcoming Mr. Montagu and supporting the Congress-League scheme of reforms.

In Court of the Sessions Judge at Jhansi on 22nd Mr. A. Nyss who was charged with murder of Mrs. Donovan was unanimously acquitted by the assessors. Judgment will be delivered on 27th.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

(Continued from page 6.)

trade and were menaced with ruin by the War; by the refusal to aid the efforts made to replace necessaries, hitherto supplied by Germany, by the founding or financing of factories for their production at home; by the restrictions put on trade under pretext of the War, that prevented the legitimate expansion of promising branches of industry; by the absence of effort to relieve the stringency of the money market, wealthy merchants being unable to obtain cash to meet their liabilities here, because their English debtors could not transmit the money they owed; some were even obliged to sell the depreciated Government paper at heavy loss in order to maintain their credit; in other cases War Bonds were offered to them in lieu of cash for goods supplied. The details have varied in different centres, and the wealthy and independent merchants of Bombay have suffered less than the merchants of Madras, with whose difficulties I am naturally more familiar.

There, added difficulties constantly arise from the favouritism shewn by the Presidency Bank to English, as compared with Indian, clients, and the absence of Indians from its Directorate, complained of for years. The anxiety felt by the merchants was largely increased by the depreciation of Government paper, and apart from the heavy losses of capital incurred when necessity forced holders to sell for cash, an uneasy feeling arose as to the stability of the Government, when its securities fell so low.

Another disturbing cause was the alienation during many years of lands and minerals to foreigners, the Government looking on with indifference.

The copra and coir industry of the West Coast had passed into German hands; struck away from them by the War, there was danger of its being absorbed by the English; happily the firm of Tata and Sons stepped in and rescued, it, and it remains an Indian industry. Ten years ago, the working of the blend known as monazite, an ingredient in munitions, was absorbed by Germany. Indian mica mines became German property. Undressed hides were exported wholesale to Germany, although Mysore had shewn that they could be dressed and tanned better in Indian than in European factories, and only a little encouragement and help were needed to ensure their dressing and tanning, if not also their working, here. Instead of that, the undressed hides were bought up by Government at a price fixed by themselves, and were largely exported to be dressed tanned and worked abroad. The Viceroy, speaking in the Supreme Council on September 5th last, stated that large orders had been given to "tanners in India," and that experimental work in tanning had yielded results which promised success on a commercial scale; he expressed the hope that, after the War, the tanning industry would undergo a great expansion for general purposes. But hide merchants are distressed by an order that hides are to be purchased at War prices, the British War Office buying them to provide with leather goods the civilian population in Britain. But what has the War Office to do with providing boots for civilians, and why should India be drained for civil, as well as for military purposes? If the tanning experiments are being carried on with India's money by experts paid by India, and not by British capitalists, then the outcome should be the property of India and enrich the people of the country, not British merchants and manufacturers settled here.

The War has turned the attention of Government to the wisdom of utilising India's immense natural resources, and the Viceroy speaks of organising these resources with "a view to making India more self-contained, and less dependent on the outer world for the supplies of manufactured goods." We heartily endorse this view. This has long been the cry from Indians, for India, with her varieties of soil and climate, can produce all the materials she needs, and with her surplus goods she can, as Philimore said of her in the 17th century, "with the droppings of her soil feed distant nations." But the East India Company first, the British Government next, and lately exploiting bodies of Imperialist Traders, have vehemently insisted that India should supply raw materials, export them for manufacture abroad and purchase, preferably within the Empire, the goods manufactured out of them. As Macaulay pointed out, the marvellous expansion of English industry was contemporaneous with the impoverishment of India. The reversal of this policy by the present Viceroy will earn India's undying gratitude, if he fosters Indian industries and not English industries in India. A witness before the Industries Commission stated that India should raise products for use outside, that is, as the East India Company put it, become a plantation for the supply of raw materials. The Viceroy must pardon us, if previous experience has made us anxious on this point. We cannot forget that a century ago the traces of iron were found in the Central Provinces, and that nothing was done to extract the metal—England then being the world's shop for iron to her own huge profit, and not desiring a rival. It was left for Tata to seize the opportunity, and his shares of Rs. 30 are now sold at Rs. 1,180. He started a great industry, and Tata's steel is sought so largely that he cannot meet the demand. Had the iron been raised and worked here during these long years, we should not now be dependant on Britain for our machinery, the want of which cripples the efforts to found new industries and to expand old ones, in order to supply the demand caused by the necessary absorption of factories in Great Britain for War work.

The Viceroy remarks truly that previous "efforts were more sporadic than systematic," but proceeds:

> The marked success which has followed the organisation of research and demonstration work in scientic agriculture, and the assistance which has been given to the mineral industries by the Geological Survey are striking examples that encourage a bolder policy on similar lines for the benefit of other and especially the manufacturing industries.

Here, again, we must pause to remark that some of these experiments in scientific agriculture result in efforts to meet the demands of England, rather than those of India. India works up short-stapled cotton. Especially in her hand-loom industry, short-stapled cotton suits her. Lancashire wants long-stapled, and cannot get enough from the United States and Egypt. Therefore, India should substitute long for short-stapled cotton. We confess we do not see the sequitur. Nor do we find, in our study of English trade, that England, which is set up as an example to be copied, has followed self-denying ordinances, and has regulated her production so as to help foreign countries to her own detriment.

However, the War has done for India, in awakening the interest of the Government in her industries, that which the attempts of Indian patriots have failed to do. The War brought about the Industries Commission, and the need for munitions has forced industrial organisation for their production. It is for Indian merchants to see, by seizing and utilising the political weapon, that the organisation and encouragement of industries by Government—unless it be a Home Government, under their own control—does not reduce Indians to a more subordinate position than they now hold. It is this danger which is playing a great part in the fear which has caused the Awakening of the Merchants. The tea industry, for instance, is in the hands of English planters, and while incomes drawn from other agricultural profits have been taxed, incomes derived from tea—which is certainly an agricultural profit—have wholly escaped till lately. If this policy be pursued, and the fostering of industries with Indian money places the industries in foreign hands, Indians will, even more than now, be dubashes and clerks, and other employees of English-captained firms, and will descend ever more and more on wages, driven lower and lower by increasing competition.

The industrial prospects in India are by no means discouraging, if Indians exert themselves to hold their own. Mr. Tozer, in his *British India and its Trade*, says:

> The cotton and jute manufactures, already conducted on a large scale, offer scope for still further development. Sugar and tobacco are produced in large quantities, but both require the application of the latest scientific processes of cultivation and manufacture. Oil seeds might be crushed in India instead of being exported; while cotton seeds, as yet imperfectly utilised, can be turned to good account. Hides and skins, now largely exported raw, might be more largely tanned and dressed in India. Again, the woollen and silken fabrics manufactured in India are mostly coarse fabrics and there is scope for the production of finer goods. Although railways make their own rolling stock, they have to import wheels and axles, tyres and other iron work. At present steel is manufactured on a very small scale, and the number of iron foundries and machine shops, although increasing, is capable of greater expansion. Machinery and machine tools have for the most part to be imported. Millions of agriculturists and artisans use rude tools which might be replaced by similar articles that are more durable and of better make. Improved oil presses and hand-looms should find a profitable market. Paper-mills and flour mills might be established in greater numbers. There are openings also for the manufacture of sewing machines, fire-works, rope, boots and shoes, saddlery, harness, clock, watches, aniline and alizarine dyes, electrical appliances, glass and glassware, tea chests, gloves, rice, starch, matches, lamps, candles, soap, linen, hardware and cutlery.

Obviously, India might be largely self-sufficing, and, as of old, export her surplus. But now her imports are rising, and under the present system her exports do not enrich her as they should.

Imports were steadily rising before the War, but dropped with it (amounts given in pounds sterling):

1911-12	£ 92,383,200	Piece Goods 28,592,000
12-13	£107,332,490	,, 35,536,000
13-14	£122,165,203	,, 88,758,000
14-15	£ 81,932,600	,, 28,643,000
15-16	£ 87,560,169	,, 25,175,000

The previous five years also show generally rising imports (amounts given in rupees):

1906-7	Rs. 135,50,85,676
7-8	Rs. 162,71,55,234
8-9	Rs. 143,59,75,796
9-10	Rs. 154,48,36,214
10-11	Rs. 169,05,72,729

Exports exceeded imports, nad the War has made difficulties in the way of realising payment (Amounts given in pounds sterling):

1911-12	£147,879,060
12-13	£160,899,980
13-14	£162,807,900
14-15	£118,323,300
15-16	£128,356,619

Indian merchants have seen the swift expansion of Japanese trade, and know that it is fostered by the Japanese Government both by protection and with bounties. They have to compete with it in their own land. Is it any wonder that they desire an Indian Government? They see Japanese goods underselling them and flooding their own markets. Is it any wonder that they desire a Home Government, that will put duties on these foreign goods and protect their own products?

The furious uprising of the European Associations, ever indifferent to politics which only concern Indian interests, has shown them that their trade rivals dread the transfer of power, because they fear to lose the unfair privileges and advantages which they have always enjoyed, since the humble traders of the seventeenth century became the masters of India. They are not accustomed to a struggle on equal terms, and the prospect dismays them. They want privilege, not justice and a fair field. Much of their fear and anger, the need felt by Sir Hugh Bray for English dominance for the protection of English interests, lie in the fact that they dread the budget of a Home Government, even more than they dread a fair trade competition.

The Indian merchants now realise that in the trade war after the end of the present War, they will go down unless they have power in their own country. Trade, commerce, industry, organised by the countrymen of the European Chambers of Commerce and Trade Associations, mean ruin to the Indian merchants, traders and manufacturers. The favouritism of Governments and English Banks has spelt hard struggle during the period when organisation was wanting. When it is accompanied by organisation created and ruled by the foreigners, it will spell ruin. Mr. J. W. Root has rightly observed that to give Great Britain, under present circumstances, the control over Indian foreign trade and internal industry that would be secured by a common tariff would be an unpardonable iniquity. . . Can it be conceived that were India's fiscal arrangements placed to any considerable extent under the control of British legislators, they would not be regulated with an eye to British interests? Intense jealousy of India is always cropping up in everything affecting fiscal or industrial legislation.

Indian merchants are fully alive to this danger, and to avert it they are welcoming Home Rule.

The merchants also realise that fiscal autonomy can only come with political autonomy. Only the illogical demand fiscal autonomy and reject Home Rule. A budget framed by an Indian Finance Member would aim at a much increased expenditure on education, sanitation and irrigation—an expenditure that would result in increased capacity and increased health for the citizens and increased productiveness for the land. Railways would be constructed out of loans raised for the particular project, not out of revenue. Administration charges would be reduced by the reduction of salaries and greater economy. They have increased in a decade by Rs. 160 millions.

On the revenue side, the taxation on land would be lightened, so that cultivators might make a decent living by their labour. Exports of Indian monopilies, such as jute and indigo, would be heavily taxed. Imports would be taxed according to India's needs, and heavy duties laid on bounty-fed products. Imported liquors would carry a prohibitory duty, and they were imported in 1910-11 to the value of Rs. 1,88,81,666. Provisions, which were imported to the value of over 3 crores of rupees, might also be heavily taxed, being a luxury. Sugar rose in five years from 10 crores of rupees to 14 crores, and should be heavily taxed, so as to encourage its growth here. Cotton piece goods have risen from 37 crores to 41 crores and India should supply herself, as well as with silk piece goods, risen from 1¾ crores to 2¾ crores. Army expenditure at the moment cannot be reduced, but later, territorial armies would be raised and large reserves gradually formed. For a time English troops would remain, as in the South African Union, but the short service system would be abolished, and recruiting charges reduced.

Even so hasty a glance over the economic condition of India makes very plain the reasons for the awakening of Indian Merchants, and their entry into the Home Rule Camp.

(e) THE AWAKENING OF THE WOMEN.

The position of women in the ancient Aryan civilisation was a very noble one. The great majority married, becoming, as Manu said, the Light of the Home; some took up the ascetic life, remained unmarried, and sought the knowledge of Brahman. The story of the Rani Damayanti, to whom her husband's ministers came, when they were troubled by the Raja's gambling; that of Gandhari, in the Council of Kings and warrior Chiefs, remonstrating with her headstrong son; in later days, those of Padmavati of Chittoor, of Mirabai of Marwar, the sweet poetess, of Tarabai of Thoda, the warrior, of Chand Bibi, the defender of Ahmednagar, of Ahalya Bai of Indore, the Great Ruler—all these and countless others are well known.

Only in the last five or six generations has the Indian woman slipped away from her place at her husband's side, and left him unhelped in his public life. Even now, they wield great influence over husband and son, but lack thorough knowledge to aid. Culture has never forsaken them, but the English education of their husbands and sons, with the neglect of Sanskrit and the Vernacular, have made a barrier between the culture of the husband and that of the wife, and have shut the woman out from her old sympathy with the larger life of men. While the interests of the husband have widened, those of the wife have narrowed. The materialising of the husband has tended also, by re-action, to render the wife's religion less broad and wise, and by throwing her on the family priest for guidance in religion, instead, as of old, on her husband, has made the religion entirely one of devotion; and lacking the strong stimulus of knowledge, it more easily slides down into superstition, into dependence on forms not understood.

The wish to save their sons from the materialising result of English education awoke keen sympathy among Indian mothers with the movement to make Hinduism an integral part of education. It was, perhaps, the first movement in modern days which aroused among them in all parts of India a keen and living interest.

Then the troubles of Indians outside India roused the ever-quick sympathy of Indian women, and the attack in South Africa on the sacredness of Indian marriage drew large numbers of them out of their homes to protest against the wrong.

The Partition of Bengal was bitterly resented by Bengali women, and was another factor in the outward-turning change. When the editor of an Extremist newspaper was prosecuted for sedition, convicted and sentenced, 500 Bengali women went to his mother to shew their sympathy, not by condolences, but by congratulations. Such was the feeling of the well-born women of Bengal.

The Indentured Labour question, involving the dishonour of women, again, moved them deeply, and even sent a deputation to the Viceroy composed of women.

These were, perhaps, the chief outer causes; but deep in the heart of India's daughters arose the Mother's voice, calling on them to help her to arise, and to be once more mistress in her own household. Indian women, nursed on her old literature, with its wonderful ideals of womanly perfection, could not remain indifferent to the great movement for India's liberty. And during the last few years the hidden fire long burning in their hearts, fire of love to Bharatamata, fire of resentment against the lessened influence of the religion which they passionately love, instinctive dislike of the foreigner as ruling in their land, have caused a marvellous awakening. The strength of the Home Rule movement is rendered tenfold greater by the adhesion to it of large numbers of women, who bring to its helping the uncalculating heroism, the endurance, the self-sacrifice, of the feminine nature. Our League's best recruits and recruiters are among the women of India, and the women of Madras boast that they marched in procession when the men were stopped, and that their prayers in the temples set the interned captives free. Home Rule has become so intertwined with religion by the prayers offered up in the great Southern Temples—sacred places of pilgrimage—and spreading from them to village temples, and also by its being preached, up and down the country, by Sadhus and Sannyasins, that it has become in the minds of the women and of the ever-religious masses, inextricably intertwined with religion. That is, in this country, the surest way of winning alike the women of the higher classes and the men and women villagers. And that is why I have said that the two words, "Home Rule," have become a Mantram.

(f) The Awakening of the Masses.

This is another startling phenomenon of our times, due of late to the teaching of Sadhus and Sannyasins and the campaign of prayer, just mentioned, but much more to the steady influence of the educated classes permeating the masses for very many years, the classes which, as we shall see, have their roots struck deep in the villages. It must be remembered that the raiyat, though innocent of English, has a culture of his own, made up of old traditions and legends and folk-lore, coming down from time immemorial. He is religious, knows the great laws of Karma and Reincarnation is industrious and shrewd. He cares very little for who is the "Sirkar", and very much for the agents who come to collect his tax, or to meddle with his fields. In the old days, which, for him still live, the Panchayat managed the village affairs, and he was prosperous and contented, save when the King's tax-gatherer came, or soldiers harried his village. These were inevitable natural evils, like draught or flood; and if a raid came or an invasion, they felt they were suffering with their king, and in the tax they were sharing with their King, whereas they are crushed now in an iron machinery, without the human nexus that used to exist.

Home Rule has touched the raiyat through his village life, where the present order presses hardly upon him in ways that I shall refer to when dealing with agricultural conditions. He resents the rigid payment of tax in money instead of the variable tax in kind, the King's share of the produce. He resents the frequent resettlements, which force him to borrow from the money-lender to meet the higher claim. He wants the old Panchayats back again; he wants that his village should be managed by himself and his fellows, and he wants to get rid of the tyranny of petty officials, who have replaced the old useful communal servants.

We cannot leave out of the causes which have helped to awaken the masses, the influence of the Co-operative Movement, and the visits paid to villages by educated men for lectures on sanitation, hygiene, and other subjects. Messrs. Moreland and Ewing writing in the "Quarterly Review," remarked:—

> The change of attitude on the part of the peasant, coupled with the progress made in organisation mainly through the Co-operative propaganda, is the outstanding achievement of the past decade, and at the same time the chief ground for the recent confidence with which agricultural reformers can now face the future.

In many parts of the country, where Conferences are carried on in the vernacular, the raiyats attend in large numbers, and often take part in the practical discussions on local affairs. They have begun to hope, and to feel that they are a part of the great National Movement, and that for them also a better day is dawning.

The submerged classes have also felt the touch of a ray of hope, and are lifting up their bowed heads, and claiming, with more and more definiteness, their place in the Household of the Mother. Movements, created by themselves, or originating in the higher castes, have been stirring in them a sense of self-respect. The Brahmanas, awakening to a sense of their long-neglected duty, have done much to help them, and the prospect of their future brightens year by year.

By a just karma the higher castes are finding that attempts are being made by official and non-official Europeans to stir this class into opposition to Home Rule. They play upon the contempt with which they had been treated, and threaten them with a return of it, if "Brahmana Rule," as they call it, is gained. Twenty years ago and more, I ventured to urge the danger to Hindu Society that was hidden within the neglect of the submerged, and the folly of making it profitable for them to embrace Islam or Christianity, which offered them a higher social status. Much has been done since then, but it is only a drop in the ocean needed. They know very well, of course, that all the castes, not the highest alone, are equally guilty, but that is a sorry comfort. Large numbers of them are, happily, willing to forget the past, and to work with their Indian fellow-countrymen for the future. It is the urgent duty of every lover of the Motherland to draw these, her neglected children, into the common Home.

Mr. Gandhi's capital idea of a monster petition for the Congress-League scheme, for which signatures were only to be taken after careful explanation of its scope and meaning, has proved to be an admirable method of political propaganda. The soil in the Madras Presidency had been well prepared by a wide distribution of popular literature, and the Propaganda Committee had scattered over the land in the vernaculars a simple explanation of Home Rule. The result, of active work in the villages during the last year showed itself in the gathering in less than a month of nearly a million signatures. They have been taken in duplicate, so that we have a record of a huge number of people, interested in Home Rule, and the hosts will increase in ever widening circles, preparing for the coming Freedom.

WHY INDIA DEMANDS HOME RULE.

India demands Home Rule for two reasons, one essential and vital, the other less important but weighty: First, because Freedom is the birthright of every Nation: secondly, because her most important interests are now made sub-servient to the interests of the British Empire without her consent, and her resources are not utilised for her greatest needs. It is enough only to mention the money spent on her Army, not for local defence but for Imperial purposes, as compared with that spent on primary education.

I. THE VITAL REASON.

(a) *What is a Nation?*

Self-Government is necessary to the self-respect and dignity of a People; other Government emasculates a Nation, lowers its character, and lessens its capacity. The wrong done by the Arms Act, which Raja Rampal Singh voiced in the Second Congress as a wrong which outweighed all the benefits of British Rule, was its weakening and debasing effect on Indian manhood. "We cannot," he declared, "be grateful to it for degrading our natures, for systematically crushing out all martial spirit, for converting a race of soldiers and heroes into a timid flock of quill-driving sheep." This was done not by the fact that a man did not carry arms—few carry them in England—but that men were deprived of the *right* to carry them. A Nation, an individual, cannot develop his capacities to the utmost, without Liberty. And this is recognised everywhere except in India. As Mazzini truly said:

> God has written a line of His thought over the cradle of every people. That is its special mission. It cannot be cancelled; it must be freely developed.

For what is a Nation? It is a spark of the Divine Fire, a fragment of the Divine Life, outbreathed into the world, and gathering round itself a mass of individuals, men, women and children, whom it binds together into one. Its qualities, its powers, in a word, its type, depend on the fragment of the Divine Life embodied in it, the Life which shapes it, evolves it, colours it, and makes it One. The magic of Nationality is the feeling of oneness, and the use of Nationality is to serve the world in the particular way for which its type fits it. This is what Mazzini called "its special mission," the duty given to it by God in its birth-hour. Thus India had the duty of spreading the idea of Dharma, Persia that of Purity, Egypt that of Science, Greece that of Beauty, Rome that of Law. But to render its full service to Humanity it must develop along its own lines, and be Self-determined in its evolution. It must be Itself, and not Another. The whole world suffers where a Nationality is distorted or suppressed, before its mission to the world is accomplished.

(b) The Cry for Self-Rule.

Hence the cry of a Nation for Freedom, for Self-Rule, is not a cry of mere selfishness demanding more Rights that it may enjoy more happiness. Even in that there is nothing wrong, for happiness means fulness of life, and to enjoy such fulness is a righteous claim. But the demand for Self-Rule is a demand for the evolution of its own nature for the Service of Humanity. It is a demand of the deepest Spirituality, an expression of the longing to give its very best to the world. Hence dangers cannot check it, nor threats appal, nor offerings of greater pleasures lure it to give up its demand for Freedom. In the adapted words of a Christian Scripture, it passionately cries: "What shall it profit a Nation if it gain the whole world and lose its own Soul? What shall a Nation give in exchange for its Soul?" Better hardship and freedom, than luxury and thraldom. This is the spirit of the Home Rule movement, and therefore it cannot be crushed, it cannot be destroyed, it is eternal and ever young. Nor can it be persuaded to exchange its birthright for any mess of efficiency-pottage at the hands of the bureaucracy.

(c) Stunting the Race.

Coming closer to the daily life of the people as individuals, we see that the character of each man, woman and child is degraded and weakened by a foreign administration, and this is most keenly felt by the best Indians. Speaking on the employment of Indians in the Public Services, Gopal Krishna Gokhale said:

> A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the system may be satisfied. The upward impulse, if I may use such an expression, which every schoolboy at Eton or Harrow may feel, that he may one day be a Gladstone, a Nelson, or a Wellington, and which may draw forth the best effort of which he is capable, that is denied to us. The full height to which our manhood is capable of rising can never be reached by us under the present system. The moral elevation which every Self-governing people feel cannot be felt by us. Our administrative and military talents must gradually disappear owing to sheer disuse, till at last our lot, as hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country, is stereotyped.

The Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu has spoken on similar lines:

> A bureaucratic administration, conducted by an imported agency, and centering all power in its hands, and undertaking all responsibility, has acted as a dead weight on the Soul of India, stifling in us all sense of initiative, for the lack of which we are condemned, atrophying the nerves of action and, what is most serious, necessarily dwarfing in us all feeling of self-respect.

In this connexion the warning of Lord Salisbury to Cooper's Hill students is significant:

> No system of Government can be permanently safe where there is a feeling of inferiority or of mortification affecting the relations between the governing and the governed. There is nothing I would more earnestly wish to impress upon all who leave this country for the purpose of governing India than that, if they choose to be so, they are the only enemies England has to fear. They are the persons who can, if they will, deal a blow of the deadliest character at the future rule of England.

I have ventured to urge this danger, which has increased of late years, in consequence of the growing self-respect of the Indians. But the ostrich policy is thought to be preferable in my part of the country.

This stunting of the race begins with the education of the child. The Schools differentiate between British and Indian teachers; the Colleges do the same. The students see first-class Indians superseded by young and third-rate foreigners; the Principal of a College should be a foreigner; foreign history is more important than Indian, to have written on English villages is a qualification for teaching economics in India; the whole atmosphere of the School and College emphasises the superiority of the foreigner, even when the professors abstain from open assertion thereof. The Education Department controls the education given, and it is planned on foreign models, and its object is to serve foreign rather than native ends, to make docile government servants rather than patriotic citizens; high spirits, courage, self-respect, are not encouraged, and docility is regarded as the most precious quality in the student; pride in country, patriotism, ambition, are looked on as dangerous, and English, instead of Indian, Ideals are exalted; the blessings of a foreign rule and the incapacity of Indians to manage their own affairs are constantly inculcated. What wonder that boys thus trained often turn out, as men, timeservers and sycophants, and, finding their legitimate ambitions frustrated, become selfish and care little for the public weal? Their own inferiority has been so driven into them during their most impressionable years, that they do not even feel what Mr. Asquith called the "intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke."

(d) India's Rights.

It is not a question whether the rule is good or bad. German efficiency in Germany is far greater than English efficiency in England; the Germans were better fed, had more amusements and leisure, less crushing poverty than the English. But would any Englishman therefore desire to see Germans occupying all the highest positions in England? Why not? Because the righteous self-respect and dignity of the free man revolt against foreign domination, however superior. As Mr. Asquith said at the beginning of the War, such a condition was "inconceivable and would be intolerable." Why then is it the one conceivable system here in India? Why is it not felt by all Indians to be intolerable? It is because it has become a habit bred in us from childhood, to regard the sahab-log as our natural superiors, and the greatest injury British rule has done to Indians is to deprive them of the natural

(Continued on page 12.)

RAI BAIKUNTANATH SEN BAHADUR.

Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

(Continued from page 11.)

instinct born in all free peoples, the feeling of an inherent right to Self-determination, to be themselves. Indian dress, Indian food, Indian ways, Indian customs, are all locked on as second-rate; Indian mother-tongue and Indian literature cannot make an educated man. Indians as well as Englishmen take it for granted that the natural rights of every Nation do not belong to them; they claim "a larger share in the government of the country," instead of claiming the government of their own country, and they are expected to feel grateful for "boons," for concessions. Britain is to say what she will give. The whole thing in wrong, topsy-turvy, irrational. Thank God that India's eyes are opening; that myriads of her people realise that they are men, with a man's right to freedom in his own country, a man's right to manage his own affairs. India is no longer on her knees for boons; she is on her feet for Rights. It is because I have taught this, that the English in India misunderstand me, and call me seditious; it is because I have taught this, that I am President of this Congress to-day.

This may seem strong language, because the plain truth is not usually put in India. But this is what every Briton feels in Britain for his own country, and what every Indian should feel in India for his. This is the Freedom for which the Allies are fighting: this is Democracy, the Spirit of the Age. And this is what every true Briton will feel is India's Right, the moment India claims it for herself, as she is claiming it now. When this Right is gained, then will the tie between India and Great Britain become a golden link of mutual love and service, and the iron chain of a foreign yoke will fall away. We shall live and work side by side, with no sense of distrust and dislike, working as brothers for common ends. And from that union shall arise the mightiest Empire, or rather Commonwealth, that the world has ever known, a Commonwealth that, in God's good time, shall put an end to War.

II. THE SECONDARY REASONS.

(a) Tests of Efficiency.

The Secondary Reasons for the present demand for Home Rule may be summed up in the blunt statement: "The present rule, while efficient in less important matters and in those which concern British interests, is inefficient in the greater matters on which the healthy life and happiness of the people depend." Looking at outer things, such as external order, posts and telegraphs—except where political agitators are concerned—main roads, railways, etc., foreign visitors, who expected to find a semi-savage country, hold up their hands in admiration. But if they saw the life of the people, the masses of struggling clerks trying to educate their children on Rs. 25 (28s. 0½d.) a month, the masses of labourers with one meal a day, and the huts in which they live, they would find cause for thought. And if the educated men talked freely with them, they would be surprised at their bitterness. Gopal Krishna Gokhale put the whole matter very plainly in 1911:

> One of the fundamental conditions of the peculiar position of the British Government in this country is that it should be a continuously progressive Government. I think all thinking men, to whatever community they belong, will accept that. Now, I suggest four tests to judge whether the Government is progressive, and further whether it is continuously progressive. The first test that I would apply is what measures it adopts for the moral and material improvement of the mass of the people, and under these measures I do not include those appliances of modern Governments which the British Government has applied in this country, because they were appliances necessary for its very existence, though they have benefited the people, such as the construction of Railways, the introduction of Post and Telegraphs, and things of that kind. By measures for the moral and material improvement of the people, I mean what the Government does for education, what the Government does for sanitation, what the Government does for agricultural development, and so forth. That is my first test. The second test that I would apply is what steps the Government takes to give us a larger share in the administration of our local affairs—in municipalities and local boards. My third test is what voice the Government gives us in its Councils—the deliberative assemblies, where policies are considered. And, lastly, we must consider how far Indians are admitted into the ranks of the public service.

(b) A Change of System needed—Officials.

Those were Gokhale's tests, and Indians can supply the results of their knowledge and experience to answer them. But before dealing with the failure to meet these tests, it is necessary to state here that it is not a question of blaming men, or of substituting Indians for Englishmen, but of changing the system itself. It is a commonplace that the best men become corrupted by the possession of irresponsible power. As Bernard Houghton says: "The possession of unchecked power corrupts some of the finer qualities." Officials quite honestly come to believe that those who try to change the system are undermining the security of the State. They identify the State with themselves, so that criticism of them is seen as treason to the State. The phenomenon is well-known in history, and it is only repeating itself in India. The same writer—I prefer to use his words rather than my own, for he expresses exactly my own views, and will not be considered to be prejudiced as I am thought to be—cogently remarks:

> He (the official) has become an expert in reports and returns and matters of routine through many years of practice. They are the very woof and warp of his brain. He has no ideas, only reflexes. He views with acrid disfavour untried conceptions. From being constantly preoccupied with the manipulation of the machine he regards its smooth working, the ordered and harmonious regulation of glittering pieces of machinery, as the highest service he can render to the country of his adoption. He determines that his particular cog-wheel at least shall be bright, smooth, silent, and with absolutely no back-lash. Not unnaturally in course of time he comes to envisage the world through the strait embrasure of an office window. When perforce he must report on new proposals he will place in the forefront, not their influence on the life and progress of the people, but their convenience to the official hierarchy and the manner in which they affect its authority. Like the monks of old, or the squire in the typical English village he cherishes a benevolent interest in the commonalty, and is quite willing, even eager, to take a general interest in their welfare, if only they do not display initiative or assert themselves in opposition to himself or his order. There is much in this proviso. Having come to regard his own judgment as almost divine, and the hierarchy of which he has the honour to form a part as a sacrosanct institution, he tolerates the laity so long as they labour quietly and peaceably at their vocations and do not presume to intermeddle in high matters of State. That is the heinous offence. And frank criticism of official acts touches a lower depth still, even *lese majeste*, for no official will endure criticism from his subordinates, and the public, who lie in outer darkness beyond the pale, do not in his estimation rank even with his subordinates. How then, should he listen with patience when in their cavilling way they insinuate that, in spite of the labours of a high-souled bureaucracy, all is perhaps not for the best in the best of all possible worlds—still less when they suggest reforms that had never occurred even to him or to his order, and may clash with his most cherished ideals? It is for the officials to govern the country; they alone have been initiated into the sacred mysteries; they alone understand the secret working of the machine. At the utmost the laity may tender respectful and humble suggestions for their consideration, but no more. As for those who dare to think and act for themselves, their ignorant folly is only equalled by their arrogance. It is as though a handful of schoolboys were to dictate to their masters alterations in the traditional time-table, or to insist on a modified curriculum. . . These worthy people (officials) confuse manly independence with disloyalty; they cannot conceive of natives except either as rebels or as timid sheep.

Other quotations on the efforts of Bureaucracy will be found in Appendix I.

(c) Non-Official Anglo-Indians.

The problem becomes more complicated by the existence in India of a small but powerful body of the same race as the higher officials; there are only 122,919 English-born persons in this country, while there are 255,000,000 in the British Raj and another 70,000,000 in the Indian States, more or less affected by British influence. As a rule, the non-officials do not take any part in politics, being otherwise occupied; but they enter the field when any hope arises in Indian hearts of changes really beneficial to the Nation. John Stuart Mill observed on this point:

> The individuals of the ruling people who resort to the foreign country to make their fortunes are of all others those who most need to be held under powerful restraint. They are always one of the chief difficulties of the Government. Armed with the prestige and filled with the scornful overbearingness of the conquering Nation, they have the feelings inspired by absolute power without its sense of responsibility.

Similarly, Sir John Lawrence wrote:

> The difficulty in the way of the Government of India acting fairly in these matters is immense. If anything is done, or attempted to be done, to help the natives, a general howl is raised, which reverberates in England, and finds wealthy and support there. I feel quite bewildered sometimes what to do. Every one is in the abstract, for justice, moderation, and such like excellent qualities; but when one comes to apply such principles so as to affect anybody's interests, then a change comes over them.

Keene, speaking of the principle of treating equally all classes of the community says:

> The application of that maxim, however, could not be made without sometimes provoking opposition among the handful of white settlers in India who, even when not connected with the administration, claimed kind of class ascendency which was not only in the conditions of the country but also in the nature of the case. It was perhaps natural that in a land of caste the compatriots of the rulers should become—as Lord Lytton said—a kind of "white Brahmanas," and it was certain that, as a matter of fact, the pride of race and the possession of Western civilisation created a sense of superiority, the display of which was ungraceful and even dangerous, when not tempered by official responsibility. This feeling had been sensitive enough in the days of Lord William Bentinck, when the class referred to was small in numbers and devoid of influence. It was now both more numerous, and—by reason of its connection with the newspapers of Calcutta and of London—it was far better able to make its passion heard.

During Lord Ripon's sympathetic administration the great outburst occurred against the Ilbert Bill in 1883. We are face to face with a similar phenomenon to-day, when we see the European Associations—under the leadership of the "Madras Mail," the Englishman of Calcutta, the "Pioneer" of Allahabad, the "Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore, with their Tory and Unionist allies in the London press and with aid of retired Indian officials and non-officials in England—desperately resisting the Reforms now proposed. Their opposition, we know, is a danger to the movement towards Freedom, and even when they have failed to impress England—as they are evidently failing—they will try to minimise or smother here the reforms which a statute has embodied. The Minto-Morley reforms were thus robbed of their usefulness, and a similar attempt, if not guarded against, will be made when the Congress-League Scheme is used as the basis for an Act.

(d) The Reaction on England.

We cannot leave out of account here the deadly harm done to England herself by this un-English system of rule in India. Mr. Hobson has pointed out:

> As our free Self-Governing Colonies have furnished hope, encouragement, and leading to the popular aspirations in Great Britain, not merely by practical success in the art of Self-Government, but by the wafting of a spirit of freedom and equality, so our despotically ruled Dependencies have ever served to damage the character of our people by feeding the habits of snobbish subservience, the admiration of wealth and rank, the corrupt survivals of the inequalities of feudalism. . . Cobden writing in 1860 of our Indian Empire, put this pithy question: "Is it not just possible that we may become corrupted at home by the reaction of arbitrary political maxims in the East upon our domestic politics, just as Greece and Rome were demoralised by their contact with Asia?" Not merely is the reaction possible, it is inevitable. As the despotic portion of our Empire has grown in area, in larger number of men, trained in the temper and methods of auotracy, as soldiers and civil officials in our Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Indian Empire, reinforced by numbers of merchants, planters, engineers, and overseers, whose lives have been those of a superior caste living an artificial life removed from all the healthy restraints of ordinary European Society, have returned to this country bringing back the characters, sentiments and ideas imposed by this foreign environment.

It is a little hard on the I.C.S., that they should be foreigners here, and then when they return to their native land, find that they have become foreigners there by the corrupting influences with which they are surrounded here. We import them as raw material to our own disadvantage, and when we export them as manufactured here, Great Britain and India alike suffer from their reactionary tendencies. The results are unsatisfactory to both sides.

(e) The first Test applied.

Let us now apply Gokhale's first test. What has the Bureaucracy done for "education, sanitation, agricultural improvement, and so forth"? I must put the facts very briefly, but they are indisputable.

Education.—The percentage to the whole population of children receiving education is 2.8, the percentage having risen by 0.9 since Mr. Gokhale moved his Education Bill six years ago.

But even this percentage is illusory. It is recognised by educationists that children taught for less than four years lose what they had learned during that time. In the *Educational Statistics* (British India) for 1914-15, we find that 6,333,668 boys and 1,128,363 girls were under instruction. 7,462,031 children in all. Of these 5,434,576 had not passed the Lower Primary Stage, and of these 1,680,561 could not even read. If these be deducted from the total, we have only 2,027,455 children receiving education useful to them, giving us the appalling figure of 83 per cent. The money spent on the 5½ millions might as well be thrown into the Bay of Bengal.

The percentage of children of school-going age attending school was 20.4 at the end of 1915. In 1913 the Government of India put the number of pupils at 4½ millions; this has been accomplished in 59 years, reckoning from Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch in 1854, which led to the formation of the Education Department. In 1870 an Education Act was passed in Great Britain, the condition of Education in England then much resembling our present position; grants-in-aid in England had been given since 1833, chiefly to Church Schools. Between 1870 and 1881 free and compulsory education was established, and in 12 years the attendance rose from 43.3 to nearly 100 per cent. There are now 6,000,000 children in the schools of England and Wales out of a population of 40 millions. Japan, before 1872, had a proportion of 28 per cent of children of school-going age in school, nearly 8 over our present proportion; in 24 years the percentage was raised to 92, and in 28 years education was free and compulsory. In Baroda education is free and largely compulsory and the percentage of boys is 100 per cent. Travancore has 81.1 per cent of boys and 33.2 of girls. Mysore has 45.8 of boys and 9.7 of girls. Baroda spends annas 6-6 per head on school-going children, British India annas three. Expenditure on education advanced between 1882 and 1907 by 57 lakhs. Land-revenue had increased by 8 crores, military expenditure by 13 crores, civil by 8 crores, and capital outlay on railways was 15 crores. (I am quoting G. K. Gokhale's figures.) He ironically calculated that, if the population did not increase, every boy would be in school 115 years hence, and every girl in 665 years. Brother Delegates, we hope to do it more quickly under Home Rule. I submit that in education the Bureaucracy is inefficient.

Sanitation and Medical Relief.—The prevalence of plague, cholera, and above all malaria, show the lack of sanitation alike in town and country. This lack is one of the causes contributing to the low average life-period in India—23.5 years. In England the life-period is 40 years, in New Zealand 60. The chief difficulty in the way of the treatment of disease is the encouragement of the foreign system of medicine, especially in rural parts, and the withholding of grants from the indigenous. Government Hospitals, Government Dispensaries, Government doctors, must all be on the foreign system. Ayurvaidic and Unani medicines, Hospitals, Dispensaries, Physicians, are unrecognised, and to "cover" the latter is "infamous" conduct. Travancore gives grants-in-aid to 72 Vaidyashalas, at which 1,43,505 patients—22,000 more than in allopathic institutions—were treated in 1914-15 (the Report issued in 1917). Our Government cannot grapple with the medical needs of the people, yet will not allow the people's money to be spent on the systems they prefer. Under Home Rule, the indigenous and the foreign systems will be treated with impartiality. I grant that the allopathic doctors do their utmost to supply the need, and show great self-sacrifice, but the need is too vast and their numbers too few. Efficiency on their own lines in this matter is therefore impossible for our bureaucratic Government; their fault lies in excluding the indigenous systems, which they have not condescended to examine before rejecting them. The result is that in sanitation and medical relief the Bureaucracy is inefficient.

Agricultural Development.—The census of 1911 gives the agricultural population 218.3 millions. Its frightful poverty is a matter of common knowledge; its ever-increasing load of indebtedness has been dwelt on for at least the last thirty odd years by Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha. Yet the increasing debt is accompanied with increasing taxation, land revenue having risen as just stated, in 25 years, by 8 crores—80,000,000—of rupees. In addition to this there are local cesses, salt tax, etc. The salt tax, which presses most hardly on the very poor, was raised in the last budget by Rs. 9 millions. The inevitable result of this poverty is mal-nutrition, resulting in low vitality, lack of resistance to disease, short life-period, huge infantile mortality. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, no mischievous agitator, repeated in 1905 the figures often quoted.

> Forty millions of people, according to one great Anglo-Indian authority—Sir William Hunter—pass through life with only one meal a day. According to another authority—Sir Charles Elliot—70 millions of people in India do not know what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied even once in the whole course of the year. The poverty of the people of India, thus considered by itself, is truly appalling. And if this is the state of things after a hundred years of your rule, you cannot claim that your principal aim in India has been the promotion of the interests of the Indian people.

It is sometimes said: "Why harp on these figures? We know them." Our answer is that the fact is ever harping in the stomach of the people, and while it continues, we cannot cease to draw attention to it. And Gokhale urged that "even this deplorable condition has been further deteriorating steadily." We have no figures on malnutrition among the peasantry, but in Madras City, among an equally poor urban population, we found that 78 per cent of our pupils were reported, after a medical inspection, to be suffering from malnutrition. And the spareness of frame, the thinness of arms and legs, the pitiably weak grip on life, speak without words to the seeing eye. It needs an extraordinary lack of imagination not to suffer while these things are going on.

The peasants' grievances are many and have been voiced year after year by this Congress. The Forest Laws, made by legislators inappreciative of village difficulties press hardly on them, and only in a small number of places have Forest Panchayats been established. In the few cases in which the experiment has been made, the results have been good, in some cases marvellously good. The paucity of grazing grounds for their cattle, the lack of green manure to feed their impoverished lands, the absence of fencing round forests, so that the cattle stray in when feeding are impounded and have to be redeemed, the fines and other punishments imposed for offences ill-understood, the want of wood for fuel, for tools, for repairs, the uncertain distribution of the available water, all these troubles are discussed in villages, and in local Conferences. The Arms Act oppresses them, by leaving them defenceless against wild beats and wild men. The union of Judicial and Executive functions makes justice often inaccessible, and always costly both in money and in time. The village officials naturally care more to please the Tahsildar and the Collector than the villagers, to whom they are in no way responsible. And factions flourish, because there is always a third party to whom to resort, who may be flattered if his rank be high, bribed if it be low, whose favour can be gained in either case by cringing and by subservience and tale-bearing. As regards the condition of agriculture in India, and the poverty of the agricultural population, the Bureaucracy is inefficient.

The application of Mr. Gokhale's first test to Indian handicrafts, to the strengthening of weak industries and the creation of new, to the care of waterways for traffic and of the coast transport shipping, the protection of indigo and other indigenous dyes against their German synthetic rivals, etc., would shew similar answers. We are suffering now from the supineness of the Bureaucracy as regards the development of the resources of the country, by its careless indifference to the usurping by Germans of some of those resources, and even now they the pursuing a similar policy of *laissez faire* towards Japanese enterprise, which, leaning on its own Government, is taking the place of Germany in shouldering Indians out of their own natural heritage.

In all prosperous countries arts are found side by side with agriculture, and they lend each other mutual support. The extreme poverty of Ireland, and the loss of more than half its population by emigration, were the direct results of the destruction of its wool-industry by Great Britain, and the consequent throwing of the population entirely on the land for subsistence. A similar phenomenon has resulted here from a similar cause, but on a far more widespread scale. And here, a novel and portentous change for India, "a considerable landless class is developing, which involves economic danger," as the "Imperial Gazetteer" remarks, comparing the census returns of 1891 and 1901. "The ordinary agricultural labourers are employed on the land only during the busy seasons of the year, and in slack times a few are attracted to large trade-centres for temporary work." One recalls the influx into England of Irish labourers at harvest time. Professor Radhakamal Mukerji has laid stress on the older conditions of village life; he says:

> The village is still almost self-sufficing, and is in itself an economic unit. The village agriculturist grows all the food necessary for the inhabitants of the village. The smith makes the ploughshares for the cultivator and the few iron utensils required for the household. He supplies these to the people, but does not get money in return. He is recompensed by mutual services from his fellow villagers. The potter supplies him with pots, the weaver, with cloth, and the oilman with oil. From the cultivator each of these artisans receives his traditional share of grain. Thus almost all the economic transactions are carried on without the use of money. To the villagers money is only a store of value, not a medium of exchange. When they happen to be rich in money, they hoard it, either in coins or make ornaments made of gold and silver

These conditions are changing in consequence of the pressure of poverty driving the villagers to the city, where they learn to substitute the competition of the town for the mutual helpfulness of the village. The differences of feeling, the change from trustfulness to suspicion, may be seen by visiting villages which are in the vicinity of a town and comparing their villagers with those who inhabit villages in purely rural areas. This economic and moral deterioration can only be checked by the re-establishment of a healthy and interesting village life, and this depends upon the re-establishment of the Panchayat as the unit of government, a question which I deal with presently. Village industries would then revive and an intercommunicating network would be formed by Co-operative Societies. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar says in his pamphlet, *Co-operative Societies and Panchayats*:

> The one method by which this evil (emigration to towns) can be arrested, and the economic and social standards of life of the rural people elevated is by the inauguration of healthy Panchayats in conjunction with the foundation of Co-operative institutions, which will have the effect of resuscitating village industries, and of creating organised social forces. The Indian village, when rightly reconstructed, would be an excellent foundation for well-developed co-operative industrial organisation.

Again:

> The resuscitation of the village system has other bearings, not usually considered in connection with the general subject of the inauguration of the Panchayat system. One of the most important of those is the regeneration of the important of these is the regeneration of the small industries of the land. Both in Europe and in India the decline of small industries has gone on *pari passu* with the decline of farming on a small scale. In countries like France agriculture has largely supported village industries, and small cultivators in that country have turned their attention to industry as a supplementary source of livelihood. The decline of village life in India is not only a political, but also an economic and industrial, problem. Whereas in Europe the cultural impulse has travelled from the city to the village, in India the reverse has been the case. The centre of social life in this country is the village, and not the town. Ours was essentially the cottage industry, and our artisans still work in their own huts, more or less out of touch with the commercial world. Throughout the world the tendency has been of late to lay considerable emphasis on distributive and industrial co-operation, based on a system of village industries and enterprise. Herein would be found the origins of the arts and crafts guilds and the garden cities, the idea underlying all these being to inaugurate a reign of Socialism and Co-operation, eradicating the entirely unequal distribution of wealth amongst producers and consumers. India has always been a country of small tenantry, and has thereby escaped many of the evils the western Nations have experienced owing to the concentration of wealth in a few hands. The communistic sense in our midst, and the fundamental tenets of our family life have checked such concentration of capital. This has been the cause for the non-development of factory industries on a large scale.

The need for these changes—to which England is returning, after full experience of the miseries of life in manufacturing towns—is pressing.

Addressing an English audience, G. K. Gokhale summed up the general state of India as follows:

> Your average annual income has been estimated at about £42 per head. Ours, according to official estimates, is about £2 per head, and according to non-official estimates, only a little more than £1 per head. Your imports per head are about £13: ours about 5s. per head. The total deposits in your Postal Savings Bank amount to 18 million sterling, and you have in addition in the Trustees' Savings Banks about 52 million sterling. Our Postal Savings Bank deposits, with a population seven times as large as yours, are only about 7 million sterling, and even of this a little over one-tenth is held by Europeans. Your total paid-up capital of joint-stock companies is about 1,000 million sterling. Ours is not quite 96 million sterling and the greater part of this again is European. Four-fifths of our people are dependent upon agriculture, and agriculture has been for some time steadily deteriorating. Indian agriculturists are too poor, and are, moreover, too heavily indebted, to be able to apply any capital to land, and the result is that over the greater part of India agriculture is, as Sir James Caird pointed out more than twenty-five years ago, only a process of exhaustion of the soil. The yield per acre is steadily diminishing, being now only about 8 to 9 bushels an acre against about 30 bushels here in England.

In all the matters which come under Gokhale's first test, the Bureaucracy has been and is inefficient.

(f) Give Indians a chance.

All we say in the matter is: You have not succeeded in bringing education, health, prosperity, to the masses of the people. Is it not time to give Indians a chance of doing, for their own country, work similar to that which Japan and other Nations have done for theirs? Surely the claim is not unreasonable. If the Anglo-Indians say that the masses are their peculiar trust, and that the educated classes care not for them, but only for place and power, Then we point to the Congress, to the speeches and the resolutions eloquent of their love and their knowledge. It is not their fault that they gaze on their country's poverty in helpless despair. Or let Mr. Justice Rahim answer:

> As for the representation of the interests of the many scores of millions in India, if the claim be that they are better represented by European Officials than by educated Indian Officials or non-Officials, it is difficult to conceive how such reckless caim has come to be urged. The inability of English Officials to master the spoken languages of India, and their habits of life and modes of thought so completely divide them from the general population, that only an extremely limited few, possessed with extraordinary powers of insight, have ever been able to surmount the barriers. With the educated Indians, on the other hand, this knowledge is instinctive, and the view of religion and custom, so strong in the East, make their knowledge and sympathy more real than is to be seen in countries dominated by materialistic conceptions.

And it must be remembered that it is not lack of ability which has brought about bureaucratic inefficiency, for British traders and producers have done uncommonly well for themselves in India. But a Bureaucracy does not trouble itself about matters of this kind; the Russian Bureaucracy did not concern itself with the happiness of the Russian masses, but with their obedience and their paying of taxes. Bureaucracies are the same everywhere, and therefore it is the system we wage war upon, not the men; we do not want to substitute Indian bureaucrats for British bureaucrats; we want to abolish Bureaucracy, Government by Civil Servants.

(g) The other Tests applied

I need not delay over the second, third, and fourth tests, for the answers *sautent aux yeux*.

The second test, Local Self-Government: Under Lord Mayo (1869-72) some attempts were made at decentralisation, called by Keene "Home Rule," (!) and his policy was followed, on non-financial lines, as well by Lord Ripon, who tried to infuse into what Keene calls "the germs of Home Rule" "the breath of life." Now in 1917, an experimental and limited measure of local Home Rule is to be tried in Bengal. Though the Report of the Decentralisation Committee was published in 1909, we have not yet arrived at the universal election of non-official Chairmen. Decidedly inefficient is the Bureaucracy under test 2.

The third test, a Voice in the Councils: The part played by Indian elected members in the Legislative Council, Madras, was lately described by a member as "a farce." The Supreme Legislative Council was called by one of its members "a glorified Debating Society." A table of resolutions proposed by Indian elected members, and passed or lost, was lately drawn up, and justified the caustic epithets. With regard to the Minto-Morley reforms, the Bureaucracy showed great efficiency in destroying the benefits intended by the Parliamentary Statute. But the third test shows that in giving Indians a fair Voice in the Councils the Bureaucracy was inefficient.

The fourth test, the Admission of Indians to the Public Services: this is shown, by the Report of the Commission, not to need any destructive activity on the part of the Bureaucracy to prove their unwillingness to pass it, for the Report protects them in their privileged position.

We may add to Gokhale's tests one more, which will be triumphantly passed, the cost of administration. The estimates for the revenue of the present year stand at £86,199,600 sterling. The expenditure is reckoned at £85,572,100 sterling. The cost of administration stands at more than half the total revenue:

Civil Departments Salaries and Expenses	£ 19,323,300
„ Miscellaneous Charges	£ 3,283,300
Military Services	£ 25,165,900
	£ 47,772,500

The reduction of the abnormal cost of government in India is of the most pressing nature, but this will never be done until we win Home Rule.

It will be seen that the Secondary Reasons for the demand for Home Rule are of the weightiest nature in themselves, and show the necessity for its grant if India is to escape from a poverty which threatens to lead to National bankruptcy, as it has already led to a short life-period and a high death rate, to wide-spread disease, and to a growing exhaustion of the soil. That some radical change must be brought about in the condition of our masses, if a Revolution of Hunger is to be averted, is patent to all students of history, who also know the poverty of the Indian masses to-day. This economic condition is due to many causes, of which the inevitable lack of understanding by an alien Government is only one. A system of Government suitable to the West was forced on the East, destroying its own democratic and communal institutions, and imposing bureaucratic methods which bewildered and deteriorated a people to whom they were strange and repelled. The result is not a matter for recrimination, but for change. An inappropriate system, forced on an already highly civilised people was bound to fail. It has been rightly said that the poor only revolt, when the misery they are enduring is greater than the dangers of revolt. We need Home Rule to stop the daily suffering of our millions from the diminishing yield of the soil and the decay of village industries

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

These fall under the heads of:

(1) Reforms in the Government of India.

(2) Reforms in the Governments of Provinces.

(3) Reforms in Local Self-Government.

I prefer to take these in reverse order, building up the scheme of Government from its foundation, so that it may appear as a coherent whole, its parts interdependent. But I will say at the outset, to preclude mistake, that no scheme of Local Self-Government can succeed, unless the changes asked for last year in the Congress-League scheme are granted. That scheme is our irreducible minimum for Reforms worthy of the name. The long and futile tinkering at Local Self-Government since the days of Lord Ripon has conclusively proved that you can no more have a reality of Local Self-Government with unrepresentative Provincial Legislative Councils, or with such Councils as we have now—save in Bengal—with an official and nominated majority of members, with a complete British Executive, or a four to one British-majority-Executive, in which the solitary Indian member lends cover to objectionable measures which he is powerless to prevent, than you could have a healthy body with a diseased or undeveloped brain. Healthy brain, directing and controlling, must go with a healthy body. A foreign Executive, distrustful of Indian capacity to govern, busies itself more with official checks and controls than with the powers of the local membership. We are tired of this grandmotherly legislation. If the Anglo-Indians think us babies—very well. Let the babies crawl by themselves, get up and try to walk and then tumble down, until by tumbles they learn equilibrium. If they learn to walk in leading strings they will always develop bow-legs. But let me remark, in passing, that wherever the Indians have been tried fairly, they have always succeeded. If the Governments of India and Great Britain, under official pressure, begin with Local Self-Government, and demand success in that department—or in any departments before they agree to the Congress-League scheme, at least it means that they are making time and are not making any real step forward. And let me say to the Governments of India and Britain, with all frankness and good-will, that India is demanding her Rights, and is not begging for concessions. It is for her to say with what she will be satisfied—I appeal to the statement of the Premier of Great Britain in support of my assertion—and not for any other authority to say to her: "Thus far, and no further." In this attitude, the Democracy of Great Britain supports us; the Allies, fighting, as Mr. Asquith said, "for nothing short of freedom" support us; the great Republic of the United States of America supports us. Britain cannot deny her own traditions, contradict her own leading statesmen, and shame the free Commonwealth, of which she is the glorious Head, in the face of the world.

Unfit for Democracy?

We have been assured time after time, even to weariness, that India is totally unfit for Democratic institutions, having always lived under absolute rule of sorts. But that is not the opinion of historians, based on facts, though it may be the opinion of the Indian Civil Service, based on prejudices. As well said, in the Address presented to H. E. the Viceroy and the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu by the Home Rule Leagues:

> The argument that Democracy is foreign to India cannot be alleged by any well-informed person. Maine and other historians recognise the fact that Democratic Institutions are essentially Aryan, and spread from India to Europe with the immigration of Aryan peoples; Panchayats the "village republics," had been the most stable institution of India, and only vanished during the last century under the pressure of the East India Company's domination. They still exist within the castes, each caste forming within itself a through democracy, in which the same man may have as relations a prince and a peasant. Social rank does not depend so much on wealth and titles, as on learning and occupation. India is democratic in spirit, and in institutions left to her from the past and under her control in the present.

We have further the testimony of eminent Englishmen.

Sir John Lawrence said as long ago as 1864:

> The people of India are quite capable of administering their own affairs, and the municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. The village communities, each of which is a

(Continued on Page 13.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

(Continued from Page 12.)

little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions. Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people.

Sir Bartle Frere, in 1871, wrote:

Any one who has watched the working of Indian society will see that its genius is one to represent, not merely election under Reform Acts, but represent generally by provisions, every class of the community, and when there is any difficulty respecting any matter to be laid before Government, it should be discussed among themselves. When there is any fellow-citizen to be rewarded or punished, there is always a caste meeting, and this is an expression, it seems to me, of the genius of the people, as it was of the old Saxons, to gather together in assemblies of different types to vote by tribes or hundreds.

As Mr. Chisholm Anstey said:

We are apt to forget in this country, when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for Municipal Government and Parliamentary Government (if I may use such a term), that the East is the parent of Municipalities. Local Self-Government, in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from west to east, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities, and not only so but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network, so that you have ready-made to your hand the frame-work of a great system of representation

I might multiply these quotations, but to what end? The wise know them; the other-wise will not accept them, pipe we never so forcefully

With these prefatory remarks, I proceed

REFORMS IN LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

(a) General Principle.

We have three extending areas to consider: (1) the Village; (2) the Group of Villages, each separated from others by larger or smaller spaces of land: this group *plus* the intervening lands forms the second area of control; (3) the District, consisting of conterminous Taluqs or Tahsils, for the most part, but also of tracts of waste and forest lands, owned by the Government.

There is an interesting reminiscence in this of the ancient grouping; there was headman over a village; a higher grade headman over a group of ten villages; a higher yet over one hundred villages, and so on in multiples of ten. The ancients liked this regular ascending scale; thy lired to see orderly theories.

In the village, the electorate should be it resident householders, whether owners or occupiers, "that that which concerns all may be judged by all." This gives to the man or woman resident a voice in the country, but the direct power is limited to electing representatives to deal with the questions immediately affecting the voter while indirectly he reaches up through the higher grades to the governing of the whole country. Later, as education and experience spread, universal suffrage will elect our Legislative Councils, supreme and local. We take a leaf from England's book, and do not at first give the direct suffrage to the labourers except for the local Council. We make the electorate for the Provincial Legislative Council conterminous with the electorate of Taluk Boards.

We then distribute duties and powers on the principle that whatever belongs to the village exclusively should be controlled by the Village Council, while where a village village exclusively should be controlled institution is a frugment of a larger whole, the whole should be planned by the Council in the area of whose authority the whole exists, and the village fragment be assigned to it by the higher Council, to whom the Village Council should be responsible for its management of its own fragment. Let us take a School as illustration, and suppose that the educational scheme for the Province should be planned out by the Education Department of the Provincial Government and sanctioned by the Provincial Council; it would include Provincial University or Universities, Colleges, High Schools, Secondary Schools, Primary Schools, each with its manual training institute of similar grade attached to it, and these having divisions for general manual training and the closer instruction of the workshops for those learning a trade as a means of livelihood. Every village would have its Elementary School, with the workshops needed in that particular village for the trades practised therein; probably there would be a Secondary School in every Firka (Revenue Circle); at least one High School in every Taluq, and in most Taluqs more than one; a College, or more, in each District; one or more Universities for the Province. But the Village Panchayat would be responsible only for its own Elementary School, and for seeing that any promising boy or girl should be sent on to the Firka Secondary School. By this the School would be linked on to the larger life beyond the village, but its own control would be only over its own School, seeing that its share of the Provincial Education was carried out.

(b) The Panchayat.

The existence of Village Communities in India from time immemorial, with a considerable amount of organisation, is a matter of common knowledge and in some parts of the country many inscriptions and records have been discovered which enable us to reconstruct the village life which continued in the south of India to the last century, and in Burma to our own time. It received its deathblow by Sir Thomas Munro's individualistic raiyatwari scheme, and has been losing vitality since 1820. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in the pamphlet before quoted, remarks:

In Kautilya's *Arthashastra* Book III, Vol. 10, villagers are contemplated as constructing and maintaining in their corporate capacity works of public utility; and Professor Rhys Davids says: "Villagers are described in the Buddhist books as uniting all their care to build mohallas and resting-houses, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages, and even to lay out parks." (*Vide* P. Banerji's *Public Administration in Ancient India*, p. 293, note 2.) In Mysore, now, in many districts, the villagers give half a day's work free per week for works of public utility, and the aggregate value of the work done is astounding. Every village in the times of the *Arthashastra*, (4th century, B.C.) formed an integral part of the general administrative system, and the village was the foundation of the governmental edifice. The village government of those days partook not only of the administration of executive, but also of judiciary functions, as will appear from the Ceylon inscriptions dealing with the administration of criminal justice of communal courts. To the credit of the Madras Government it must be said that, as against Sir T. Munro, who was a thorough individualist, the Madras Board of Revenue desired in the early years of the last century to leave the authority of the village institutions unimpaired. But Sir Thomas Munro had his way and the village communities lost their vitality.

The last Administration Report Mysore (1915-16) says (p. 27 on "The Village Improvement Scheme, hat "the villagers contributed Rs. 47,083 either in cash or in labour" during the year, the Government helping with grants amounting to Rs. 44,978. It says:

The village committees continued to evince much interest in this work, and many works of public utility, such as construction of school buildings, sinking wells and opening roads, clearing lantana and planting trees, were carried out through their exertion throughout the State.

Conferences of the village committees were held in four districts, "to take stock of the work done by the committees, to discuss the needs and requirements of the rural population, and to concert measures and draw up programmes for improving the economic and sanitary condition of the villages." The villagers fall in gladly with this communal work, which is on their traditional lines, giving definite amounts of free labour, as stated above, to the improvement of their village. The old sense of communal obligation still survives, and the Mysore Government has wisely utilised and fostered it.

The characteristics of the village were: a group of houses surrounding by a large of the officers and craftsmen, whose services tract of land, arable and pasture; each resident had a site free of rent for house, yard and garden. The establishment consisted of the officers and craftsmen, whose services were free to all, and who were given land, and various other rights to shares of produce, as remuneration. These consisted of a headman, an accountant, a watchman who also discharged some police functions, boundaryman, a superintendent of tanks and watercourses, a vijari, a schoolmaster, an astrologer, a doctor, a musician, a poet, a dancing girl, a barber, a washerman, a cow-keeper, a potter, a smith and a carpenter. The village assembly governed, elected by "pot-tickets," and formed committees for branches of work; the land was communal property and re-distributed from time to time. All householders appear to have had votes, but certain qualifications were laid down for eligibility for election as a Pancha (Councillor).

In the Report of the Decentralisation Committee appointed in 1907 by Edward VIII—composed of five Englishmen and one Indian, Romesh Chandra Dutt—Part III, chap xviii, sec. 694, we read:

Throughout the greater part of India the village constitutes the primary territorial unit of Government organisation, and from the villages are built up larger administrative entities.

The village is described from the "Gazetteer," as above from older sources, with its "customary rules and its little staff of functionaries, artisans and traders," These villages, says the Report, "formerly possessed a large degree of local autonomy," but

This autonomy has now disappeared owing to the establishment of local civil and criminal courts, the present revenue and police organisation, the increase of communication the growth of individualism, and the operation of the individual raiyatwari system which is extending even in the north of India. Nevertheless the village remains the first unit of administration, the principal village functionaries—the headman, the accountant and the village watchman—are largely utilised and paid by Government, and there is still a certain amount of common village feeling and interests.

"Paid by Government"—those three words explain the killing of the old village system. The officials became the servants of a higher official—Sub-Tahsildar, Tahsildar, Deputy Collector or Collector—looking to him for favour and reward, not to the villagers. Thus they became village tyrants instead of village servants, and the Soul of the Village, the responsibility to one's brother-villagers, died.

It is admitted that the village communities have disintegrated under British administration, but the Report urges their re-establishment. It seems that some witness doubted "whether the people are sufficiently advanced in education and independence for any measure of village autonomy"; there speaks the spirit of the bureaucrat. The villages had been autonomous for thousands of years; invasions, changes of rule, lapse of time, had left them active; a century and a half of British rule had made them unfit, in this witness' mind, to manage their own affairs. Why this strange deterioration under a rule supposed to be uplifting? Because, on the Procrustes-bed of Bureaucracy, all that did not fit it had to be chopped off; the villagers had their own ways, which had served them well, but they were not the Collector's ways, so they were, bad. Only Home Rule will be integrate Village Government.

However, the Report desires the development of a Panchayat system, and says (sec. 736):

We consider that as Local Government should commence in the villages with the establishment of Village Panchayats, so the next step should be the constitution of boards for areas of smaller size than a district. We desire therefore, to see sub-district boards universally established as the principal agencies of rural board associations.

Unhappily it adds to its recommendation a condition which, however well meant, would ensure its being still-born as a dead failure. For it is essential, says the Report, that the Panchayat movement.

should be completely under the eye and hand of the district authorities. Supervision of affairs in the villages is, and should remain, one of the main functions of Tahsildars and Sub-divisional Officers.

Tie up a baby's arms and legs, and leave it to teach itself to walk. If it does not succeed, blame the baby. The free baby will learn equilibrium through tumbles; the tied-up baby will become paralysed, and will never walk.

I hope that our Secretary of State will establish Panchayats by an Act based on the admirable one drawn up by the Hon. Mr T. Rangachariar, that he tried vainly to introduce in the Madras Legislative Council. I have handed it to him with Mr. Rangachariar's careful and weighty monograph, and it may be that the rejected of Madras may be the accepted of Westminster. The Act will be found as Appendix III.

I may quote here, on the establishment of Panchayats, what I have said elsewhere:

Village needs would thus be made known and if necessary they could be represented by the Panchayat to a higher authority. The village would become articulate through its Panchayat, and would no longer be the dumb and often driven creature which it is to-day. And it would be brought into touch with the larger life. The Panchayat might invite lecturers, organise discussions, arrange amusements, games, etc. All village life would be lifted to a higher level, widened and enriched by such organisation, and each village, further, forming one of a group of villages, would realise its unity with others, and thus become an organ of the larger corporate life.

The corresponding unit in the Towns to the Village in the country is the Ward, and the Ward Panchayat, like the Village one, should be elected by Household Suffrage. All towns with populations over 5,000 should have Ward Panchayats under control of the Municipality. Below that population, a Ward Panchayat would be the only municipal authority. These Ward Councils should take up the smaller town matters, now neglected, because the Municipality is too heavily burdened to attend to them properly. The Elementary Schools in each Ward should be in its charge; scavenging and sanitation generally, and care for the cleanliness of the streets and latriness; provision and superintendence of stands for hire vehicles and resting carts, with water-troughs for horses and cattle; the inspection of foodstuffs and prevention of adulteration; arbitration in small disputes as in France—where so much litigation is prevented by the appointment of a small tradesman as a local judge—inspection of workshops, wells, etc.—all these matters would naturally fall into the hands of the Ward Councils. Where there is a Municipality, that body would delegate to the Ward Council such matters as it thought fit.

(c) The Taluq or Tahsil Board.

The next rung in the ladder of Local Self-Government will be the body intermediate between the Panchayat and the District Board; the name will vary in different Provinces. With us in Madras, the Presidency is divided into 26 Districts and these into 96 Taluqs; for general purposes these may, if preferred, be termed Sub-Districts, the name used in the Decentralisation Commission Report. But the Taluq, or its coresponding division outside Madras, should be the area controlled by the Board. The Report calls them Sub-District Boards, but itself suggests the better name of Taluq or Tahsil, taking these definite areas, already existing, as the area of control for the Boards intermediate between Panchayats and District Board. In each of these there should be a Board, its electorate consisting of the Panchayats in its area, and of all persons now qualified to vote in Firkas; the qualification is only a property one and may be amended later. The Panchas would thus have a second vote, earned by public service, and would have their special representatives on the Taluq Board, each representing his own village's common interests. The Decentralisation Report strongly urges that these Boards should form an essential part of the scheme of Local Self-Government, with adequate resources and a large measure of independence.

Their functions should include control of Secondary and High Schools, with Model Farms in rural, and Technical Institutes in urban, areas. Inter-village roads and their lighting where necessary, water-ways and irrigation channels outside villages, but within the Taluq, should be under their care. They should form Co-operative Societies, and where these are not established, they should hold agricultural machinery for hiring to villagers, establish granaries for storage of grain, dairy-farms, with stud-bulls to be hired to villagers, breeding stables for horses, and generally they should organise industry wherever Co-operative Societies are not available.

(d) District Boards.

Some of our political reformers would abolish District Boards. As at present advised, I prefer to keep them.

This third grade upwards of Local Self-Government consists of the District Boards in the country and Municipalities in the larger towns. The electorate of the District Board should be the Taluq Boards under its jurisdiction, and the general Taluq electorate. This gives every Taluq member a second vote, as in the case of Panchas derived by public work.

Their functions would be to discharge all he duties which affect the District as a whole, to supervise the Taluq Boards, and to decide any appeals by Panchayats from Taluq Board decision. They would assign the proportion of local taxation to be raised in each Taluq, and the grants to be made to each from the grant received from the Provincial Council for the District. They would appoint the necessary District Officers, such as the Engineer for the District Public Works Department, the Inspector of Secondary and High Schools in the Taluqs, the Sanitary Inspector, etc. Public roads, local railways and waterways, would be under their inspection. The District Town would include the usual District Buildings, and the District Colleges for Arts, Science, Agriculture, Industries, Crafts.

Even in Lord Ripon's time there was a feeble organisation making for self-government. Keene remarks:

The germs of Home Rule already existed, not only in the traditional institutions of the rural communes so often described, but in towns and cities where—in whatever leading strings—local bodies regulated the conservancy and the watch-and-ward of the streets.

Slow as progress has been, yet some progress has ben made, and when these Boards are wholly elective, have elected chairmen, and real power over their own areas, the progress will be rapid. When Local Self-Government is established as an essential part of Home Rule, we shall see the Village Panchayat abolishing such degrading punishments as the stocks and flogging and the villagers will be treated as free men, worthy of respect. Moreover agriculture will be taught at convenient centres and model farms will be established both for training and experiment. Mysore has three such farms. The raiyats will be helped to improved methods of cultivation, suitable manures, and clean seed of the best kinds. The Forest Laws will be modified and the ancient fashion of rings of grazing ground will be provided for their cattle. In Mysore, "the major portions of the forests were thrown open," says the last Report, "for the grazing of cattle of all descriptions, except goats." Panchayats will supervise village schools suitable to the circumstances of the village, and trainig for adult raiyats willing to learn, while Taluq Boards, will, as suggested, arrange for the provision of studbulls, grain-storage, agricultural machinery, etc., at reasonable terms for hire. Boys of bright intelligence will have the opportunity, through scholarships, of rising through Schools to College, or of good agricultural or industrial or craft training. These things are not dreams, but things done in other civilised countries, where the people have Home Rule. In the Educational Rescript of the Emperor of Japan, published in 1872, he directed that "henceforth Education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member." 24 years later, as we have seen, 92 per cent of the Japanese children of school-going age were in school. Why should not Indians do as well as Japanese, when here also Education is controlled by men of their own race? For it must not be forgotten that the educated class is rooted in their ancestral villages and many relatives of Vakils are Raiyats. Despite the caste-system, there is much more blending of classes here than in the West, and the village and town populations are closely inter-related. The bright boy of a Raiyat's family becomes a Vakil while the duller remains a Raiyat. This keen sympathy has been shown in the earnest but futile resolutions of the Congress from its second session onwards, and when we have Home Rule the resolutions will become operative.

(e) Local Government Board.

The Local Government system must have at its head a Local Government Board, and its functions must be defined by an Act of the Provincial Legislative Council, on the lines of the Local Government Board Act of 1871, and the subsequent cognate enactments, as proposed in the address of the Home Rule Leagues presented last month in Delhi. The remarks of the Royal Sanitary Commission in England in 1879 are very opposite here, though naturally spoken there under the circumstances, of the need of a central sanitary officer.

One recognised and sufficient powerful Minister, not to centralise administration, but, on the contrary, to set local life in motion—a real motive power, and an authority to be referred to for assistance and guidance by all the sanitary authorities for Local

The object of the English Act was

Government throughout the country.

The Commissioners go on to describe the difficulties besetting Local Government in England, in words which recall the despairing remarks of our Municipal President in Madras:

Great is the *vis inertiæ* to be overcome; the repugnance to self-taxation; the practical distrust of science; and the number of persons interested in offending against sanitary laws, even amongst those who must constitute chiefly the local authorities to enforce them.

These difficulties are alleged by Englishmen in India as reasons for withholding complete local Self-Government, and for making timid experiments that may continue for centuries. Englishmen in England, face to face with similar difficulties, find in them only reasons for setting "local life in motion."

Government the supervision of the laws relating to public health, the relief of the poor, and local Government.

The Board is composed of unpaid members who do nothing—the Lord President of the Council, all the Secretaries of State, the Lord Privy Seal and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a most august and reverend body. All the Board is empowered to do can be done, and is so done, by the President of the Board, who sits in Parliament, is generally a Cabinet Minister, and has a salary of £2,600 a year. He has a Permanent Secretary with five assistants, a Legal Adviser, a Chief Engineering Inspector, a Chief Medical Officer, with a staff of medical inspectors, architects and engineers, with the "ordinary staff of a Government Office." If, under our scheme of the Executive Council, an Indian member was the President of the Local Government, omitting the ornamental Board, it might suffice.

The "growth of the Functions of the Board" is indicated by its absorption of the duties of the Poor Law Commissioners and Poor Law Board by 41 Acts of Parliament between 1835 and 1870, and by 154 Acts between 1871 and 1907, both inclusive. The legal authority states that the lists are probably "not exhaustive." They suffice. On Regulations, Orders, Bye-Laws, *et hoc genus omne*, I do not dare to enter. The President of our Board, when appointed, may study them.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND SUPREME LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The Scheme of the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League has been before the country for a year, and has been presented to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. It is printed as Appendix IV. I do not discuss it here, as it has been fully discussed from all points of view, during the past two years. We have all worked for it, honestly and zealously, confining ourselves within its four corners. We have now to remember that we have the duty of helping the country to work under it during the transitional period for which it was designed—differing in this from the *Memorandum of the Nineteen*, which was suggested as containing Post-War Reforms. The Congress-League scheme was, professedly, a bridge, leading from the present condition to that considered in the third part of last year's Congress Resolution:

That, in the Reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

That now becomes our Objective. We must continue to agitate for the Congress Scheme until it is passed. The final scheme will, of course, include the place of the Indian States under completed Self-Government, and of the representation of India in the Central Imperial Council, or Parliament, or Cabinet—questions which were deliberately left out of our transitional scheme.

On the general question of the work of the Provincial Legislative Councils, I may perhaps say that it will be their duty to make grants to District Boards which in turn, will distribute them to the Taluq and Village Boards in their area. No interference with their use of grants should be made, save where palpable irregularities justify the interference of the Local Government President. Freedom to work and to blunder—to a non-ruinous extent—must be allowed if Local Self-Government is to become a reality.

Another large portion of their work will be the fostering of industries in their Provinces, and the helping of the District Boards by experiments of general utility, so as to prevent useless reduplications of research. Thus, in Mysore, experiments were carried on with respect to ragi, paddy, sugar-cane, ground-nut, areca-nut and cotton, useful to the whole State. Demonstrations in the use of machinery and apparatus—churns, ploughs, seed drills etc.—would probably be conducted best by Provincial officers. So also demonstrations of improved methods of jaggery-making, of preservation of cattle-manure, that, in Mysore, were attended by gatherings of raiyats Lectures and distribution of vernacular literature were also carried on there. Six new kinds of ploughs were introduced, and sold by the hire-purchase system. Mineral and chemical analyses, mycological and entomological research are also best carried on at a well-equipped Central Institute. But these divisions will be settled by experience. It is good to read that, in Mysore, the raiyats warmly welcomed the instruction offered.

I mention these facts in order to show something of what is being done by Indians for Indians in an Indian State. It may reassure the timid, and make them feel that Home Rule implies prosperity, and not catastrophe.

SELF-GOVERNMENT BY COMPARTMENTS.

Lately, a new scheme has been sprung on the country, after careful preliminary notices and hints in the

It is known as "Self-partments." It is eager the Europeans, and crea of authorities, one on the irresponsible to the people trol of the purse, in which is vested; the other a sim wraith of a responsible Min elected Assembly, ruling a depa departments, of the Governme given more power if the real G approves of them, to be deprived if the real Government disappro them. The real Government can their failure, by giving them such portant departments as Education and nitation; which need a very heavy cut and restricting the funds allowed to the on the plea of necessity. They can the be dismissed with contumely as incompetent. The lesson of Local Government should be laid to heart, for that has been a trial of a similar system, in which officials have played the part of the real Government in the new scheme. Or the real Government may give them unimportant departments on which to try their practice hands, so that failure may not matter, and the country will be indifferent to them. There are many other objections to the scheme, which is verily the giving of a stone for bread. But the root objection is that it keeps India entirely subordinate, when she demands Self-Government. It breathes the deep distrust of Indian capacity, characteristic of the Bureaucracy, and makes the preposterous claim that India is to remain in leading-strings because another Nation claims the right to rule her, and to give her crumbs of freedom from its own well-spread table. It is the negation of every principle which Britain and her Allies have proclaimed in the face of the world. The Congress has asked for a definite scheme of Reforms; it can be satisfied with nothing less than the adoption of their essential principles. We may ask for more; we cannot ask for less. Nations go forward, not backward, in their struggle for Freedom.

DEPUTATION.

If, as I suppose, you will send a Deputation to England, to discuss the actual Statute which will have to be passed in Parliament to give effect to the Scheme, you would do well to give them a mandate to stand unflinchingly by the essential principles of the scheme: the substantial majority in the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, and the power of the purse. If these are not granted, further discussion is useless; if they are, then we can discuss subsidiary matters.

If such a Deputation be sent, we must agitate strongly and steadily here in support of it. It is said that the battle of India is to be fought in Britain. In the sense that we must put our demands clearly before Britain, that is true. But the real battle must be fought here, for Britain will naturally limit her legislation to that which India strongly demands. The great Labour party will help us with its votes, but must show, by our attitude here, that we are determined to win our Freedom.

VERNACULAR.

There is also much work to do in helping the people to prepare themselves for the new powers which will be placed in their hands. And for this, the work must be done in the vernaculars of each Province as only by their mother-tongue can the heart and brain of the masses be reached.

Sooner or later, preferably sooner, Provinces will have to be re-delimited on a linguistic basis. The official languages, for a time, will have to be two, the Vernacular and English, as in some parts of Canada French and English are used. Only then will the masses be able to take their full share in public life.

THE NEW OBJECTIVE.

What is to be our new Objective?

We have to formulate a scheme to carry out the third part of the Congress Resolution; we can do this only so far as British India is concerned: (i) The place of the Indian States will have to be considered by the United Kingdom in the light of the treaties existing between the Paramount Power and the Princes. So far as British India is concerned, we have to see that no arrangement is come to affecting it, which admits to any voice in our Councils any Prince who retains absolute power within his own state or who is not ruling on lines similar to those adopted within British India. Nor must any have authority in British India, which is not also possessed over his State by British India. (ii) With regard to any Central Imperial Authority, whatever it may be, India must have a position commensurate with her importance in the Empire, otherwise she will be ruled by the United Kingdom and the Dominions in all Imperial matters, and may be turned into a plantation, with her industrial development strangled. If, as is suggested, the War Council should evolve into the Central Authority, then its powers should be confined to questions of Imperial Defence. No other question should be introduced without being referred to the Self-Governing Nations composing the Empire, and, if one Nation objects to it, the question must remain excluded. Each such Nation must exercise complete control over its own tariff and fiscus as indeed the present Dominions now exercise it—subject to a charge for Imperial Defence.

The visit to India of the Chief Secretary of State for India makes it necessary that we should formulate very definitely what we demand. For, it is now clear that legislation is on the anvil and we must take Mr. Bonar Law's advice and strike while the iron is hot. With regard to our new objective, I suggest that we should ask the British Government to pass a Bill during 1918, establishing self-government in India on the lines resembling those of the Commonwealth of Australia Act to come into force at the date laid down therein, preferably 1923, at the latest 1928, the intermediate five or ten years being occupied with the transference of Government from British to Indian hands, maintaining the British tie as in the Dominions. Transference may be made in the States beginning with some such scheme as that of the Congress-League with its widened electorate, the essentials being half the executive councils be-

(Continued on page 14.)

THE RT. HON. E. S. MONTAGU.

His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, now on a visit to India for examining the political situation on the spot, whose time could not be conveniently arranged for attending the current session of the Congress.

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(Continued from page 13.)

ing elected by elected members of the legislatures, control of the purse and a substantial majority in the Supreme and Provincial Councils. We asked first for representation which was supposed to give influence. This has proved useless. Now we ask for partnership in the governing of India. Governments have power of dissolution and veto, people have power of the purse. This is the second stage—partnership of equals in co-operation. The third stage will be that of complete "Home Rule" to come automatically in 1923 or 1928.

The suggested lines are:

(i) That all Legislative Councils shall be wholly elected.

(ii) That members of the Public Services shall be included in the electorate, but shall not be eligible for election, nor shall they, while holding places of profit under the Crown, take part in political controversies. This rule does not include retired members, even though pensioned.

(iii) The Legislative Bodies, Supreme and Provincial, shall be unicameral.

(iv) The Prerogative of the Crown including the appointment of its Privy Councillors, the Governor-General and the Governors, while exercising that right with the approval of the Secretary of State for India, shall also call upon a member of the Legislative Council to form a Ministry, the members of which shall be sworn in as Privy Councillors, but who shall be removable by a vote of want of confidence passed in the Legislature.

(v) The Indian Army and Navy, for Indian Defence, shall be under the control of the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown, and shall be supported out of the revenues of India. The contribution of India to Imperial Defence shall be adjusted between the Government of India and the war Council.

(vi) The formation, regulation, and encouragement of the Mercantile Marine shall vest in the Government of India, subject to such international regulations as may be agreed upon after the War.

With regard to iii, iv, and v, I may add:

(iii) Much discussion will arise on this proposal, but it is submitted that the great variety of interests of opinions in India o themselves render hasty legislation—the checking of which is supposed to be the function of a second Chamber—unlikely. The power of the Governor to dissolve the Council, inherent in the prerogative, wit the power of veto, give sufficient check in a country so conservative as India.

(iv) In the United Kingdom the Cabinet has no statutory basis. The King in Council theoretically rules, i.e., the King and his Privy Councillors. But the ignorance o George II of the English language caused him to retire from the presidency of the Council, and the Cabinet grew up. Every member of the Cabinet is sworn in as a Privy Councillor, and when the Cabinet falls, its members remain Privy Councillors; but only attend when summoned on great State occasions. We have to respect the rights of the Crown, while, at the same time, we create the responsibility of Ministers to the Legislature.

(v) "Indian Army" means an Army composed of Indians and officered by Indians, and does not include the British soldiers now employed here. Thus the country will be relieved of the relatively huge cost now incurred for the short service system, transport, depots and recruiting in England, and the like. The Indian Army will be composed of Territorials and large Reserves.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

The year 1917 will ever remain memorable in Indian history for the sudden change in the policy of Great Britain towards India. The swiftness of the change is marvellous, almost incredible even to us who have striven for it. On August 20th, the first demand of last year's Congress was granted in substance though not in form; we asked for a Royal Proclamation, because that was the most gracious and impressive form and would have made our Emperor yet more popular; we have been given an announcement by the Cabinet of Great Britain, representing the Royal Will.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State is now among us, with other well-known public men from the United Kingdom. At this stage, nought can be said of the outcome of the visit. But I may rightly place on record the fact that free and full speech has been granted to India's representatives, with friendly and patient hearing from H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu.

There has been no shutting out of opinions hostile to the present bureaucratic system of Government; for Lokamanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, and I myself were severally granted full hearing; similar liberty was given to prominent members of the Congress and Muslim League. The Home Rule Leagues were treated equally well.

The outcome is on the lap of the Gods. We know the strength of the vested interests opposed to us, but we have faith in the Justice of God, and in the friendliness of all Britons who are true to the traditions of their country. The wish of organised labour in Great Britain to exchange fraternal delegates with the Congress an Home Rule Leagues is a sign of the new Brotherhood between the British and Indian Democracies. The Home Rule League have appointed Mr. Baptista as their fraternal delegate to the Annual Labour Conference next month and Major Graham Pole comes to us from them. I trust that the Congress will also nominate its fraternal delegates to the Labour Conference, and welcome its messenger to us, and that a link will thus be formed which will draw closer together the United Kingdom and India. For this, as well as for the coming of the Secretary of State to India, will 1917 be marked as a red-letter year.

OUR INTERNED BROTHERS.

It is with deep sorrow that we record the non-release of the Muslim leaders, Muhammad Ali and Shaukhat Ali. For three and a quarter long years they have been withdrawn from public life, and condemned to the living death of internment. To high-spirited and devoted patriots, no punishment could be more galling and more exasperating. Even had they sinned deeply, the penalty has been paid, and we, who believe in their innocence and honour them for their fidelity to their religion, can only lay at their feet the expression of our affectionate admiration, and our assurance that their longdrawn-out suffering will be transmuted into power, when the doors are thrown open to them, and they receive the homage of the Nation.

OUR DIVISIONS

Many observers of Indian public life have noted the fissiparous tendency in our political associations, and reactionaries make this a reason for denying to us constitutional liberty. Rightly considered it is a reason for granting it, though to some this statement may seem paradoxical. But what is the position?

We have a Nation, composed of many communities and opinions, trying to obtain liberty. We have above it, a Government, holding all power and all patronage, and able to crushly executive orders those whom it considers advocates of excessive changes. It tends to ally itself with any party or community which will help it to stave off legislation that diminishes its powers. Its natural tendency is to watch for any sign of fission, and to ally itself with the weaker party to crush the stronger, as did the East India Company in its so-called "conquest of India." If there be no sign of fission, it may be possible to initiate one, on the lines of the despatch to Lord Lytton when Viceroy of India with regard to a desired War: "If there be no pretext, you must invent one." A similar policy was followed when Dadabhai Naoroji was sent to the British Parliament: Mr. Bhownagri was set up against him, and succeeded in ousting a strong reformer and replacing him by a reactionary. No political situation could be more unhealthy.

First, take the two great communities of Hindus and Musalmans. They form two natural parties in the Nation, with the Christian Government above them as the third party for whose favour they compete. Hence Hindu-Musalman divisions, riots and the rest—which do not exist in Indian States, wherein the Ruler belongs to one of the two Great Religions, and has to rule men of both—and the constant efforts to dissolve the Entente Cordiale arrived at after long discussions at Calcutta and at Lucknow last year.

There will always be a number in each community who do not feel themselves bound by any agreement come to by the organised political bodies, containing the more reasonable and far-seeing of each community; and these again, motived by bribe or threat, unofficial but made by officials, an unorganised and irresponsible crowd, will always lend recruits to support the Government, in the hope of obtaining special concessions for their sectional interests.

Hence also, the anti-Brahmana movement, in the Madras Presidency, with its Association of a few hundred members and its three organs in the Press. It is now happily obscured by a real non-Brahmana Association, the Madras Presidency Association, led by the veteran leader, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, and already many thousands strong. The anti-Brahmana movement aims chiefly at places in the administration, and hopes to gain them more easily by praising the Government and opposing Home Rulers.

Hence, also, various similar movements in other Provinces, any stick being good enough for beating the Home Rule dog.

There is no need for anxiety about these divisions, which must always present kaleidoscopic changes, so long as India is under the rule of an irresponsible Government.

When the third, non-National party, no longer governs, the National parties will become grouped into healthy constituents of the body politic, distinguished by differences of principle. The use of power will create a sense of responsibility, and responsibility will bring about reasonable discipline.

We make too much of these transitory difficulties and quarrels, and give them an importance far beyond their real mischief-making power. They will assume their proper proportions when we have won Home Rule.

ISOLATED REFORMS.

I do not propose to dwell on the isolated Reforms for which the Congress has asked during the whole period of its existence. A list of the more important ones will be found as Appendix V. The majority of Congressmen are tired of asking for the same thing over and over again, and feel that it is better to concentrate on Home Rule, since, once the people have power, they can get rid of bad laws and make good ones for themselves.

Indian Legislatures will take up the Congress Resolutions, and carry into law all that are applicable to the changed conditions. Free India will separate Executive from Judicial functions, and also separate Revenue Officers, Judiciary and Police, place the lower Judiciary under the High Court instead of the Executive, pass Education Acts, make trial by Jury general, protect her Emigrants and Indians settled abroad, deal with Land Settlement equitably, organise and develop Indian Industries, examine for her Services within her own borders, re-organise her administration so as to abolish racial inequalities, and establish Military Colleges to fit her youth for Emperor's Commissions.

The whole of the special legislation against constitutional agitation—as understood in Great Britain—penalising writing and speech which do not incite to crime nor transgress the law of libel, will be swept away, as unworthy of a civilised country. The Executive will be deprived of the power to punish without trial, to imprison, incarcerate, impoverish, deport, intern and extern, on secret police accusations and suspicions, and confidential reports of magistrates. No man shall thus suffer without knowing his offence, nor be deprived of liberty without open trial and full opportunity of defence. Peaceful political propaganda, processions, flags and meetings will not be interfered with by Magistrates and Police Officers. In fact, India will once more enjoy the ordinary elementary human rights secured by Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights.

Think of the joy of being a free man in a free country, the equal of other civilised men; of breathing in an India at last purged of the poisonous atmosphere of coercion; of knowing that liberty of person and safety of property cannot be touched save by open trial; that one cannot become a criminal unconsciously, and at the whim of an Executive shrouded in darkness; that one enjoys the ordinary liberty of a civilised human being in a country ruled by law alone, uninterfered with by arbitrary Executive Orders. That security can only come to us with Home Rule.

CONCLUSION.

Fellow-Delegates: Pardon me that I have kept you so long. Only once in my life can I take this Congress Chair, and speak my heart out to you on this country that we love so well. Who can tell, in the present keen strife, if I shall be left free to speak to you again, to work with you as your leader, during this coming year of office. If I am allowed to carry on my work, then I crave your help during the coming year. You have trusted me enough to elect me as your President; trust me enough to work with me as your President, until I prove false to your trust. You cannot always agree with me, and I do not shrink from your criticism. I only ask you not to take for granted the truth of everything said against me by my enemies, for I cannot spare time to answer them. I cannot promise to please you always, but I can promise to strive my best to serve the Nation, as I judge of service. I cannot promise to agree with and to follow you always; the duty of a leader is to lead. While he should always consult his colleagues and listen to their advice, the final responsibility before the public must be his, and his, therefore, the final decision. A general should see further than his officers and his army and cannot explain, while battles are going on, every move in a campaign; he is to be justified or condemned by his results. Up till now, knowing myself to be of this Nation only by birth and service, not by birth, I have claimed no authority of leadership but have only fought in the front of the battle and served as best I might. Now, by your election, I take the place which you have given, and will strive to fill it worthily.

Enough of myself. Let us think of the Mother.

To see India free, to see her hold up her head among the Nations, to see her sons and daughters respected everywhere, to see her worthy of her mighty Past, engaged in building a yet mightier Future—is not this worth working for, worth suffering for, worth living and worth dying for? Is there any other land which evokes such love for her spirituality, such adoration for her literature, such homage for her valour, as this glorious Mother of Nations, from whose womb went forth the races that now, in Europe and America, are leading the world? And has any land suffered as our India has suffered, since her sword was broken on Kurukshetra, and the peoples of Europe and of Asia swept across her borders, laid waste her cities, and discrowned her Kings. They came to conquer, but they remained to be absorbed. At last, out of those mingled peoples, the Divine Artificer has welded a Nation, compact not only of her own virtues, but also of those her foes had brought to her, and gradually eliminating the vices which they had also brought.

After a history of millennia, stretching far back out of the ken of mortal eyes; having lived with, but not died with, the mighty civilisations of the Past; having seen them rise and flourish and decay, until only their sepulchres remained, deep buried in earth's crust; having wrought, and triumphed, and suffered, and having survived all changes unbroken; India, who has been verily the Crucified among Nations, now stands on this her Resurrection morning, the Immortal, the Glorious, the Ever-Young; and India shall soon be seen, proud and self-reliant, strong and free, the radiant Splendour of Asia, as the Light and the Blessing of the World.

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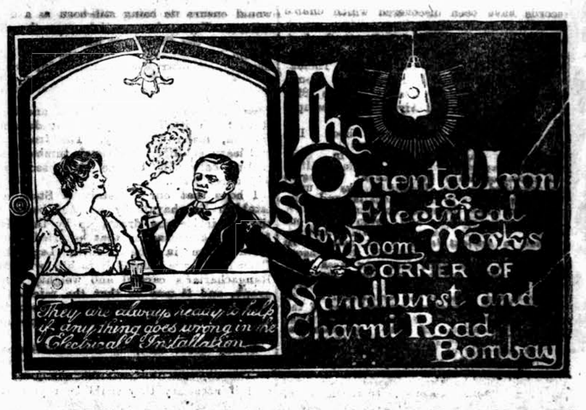
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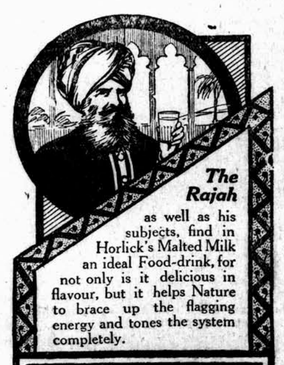

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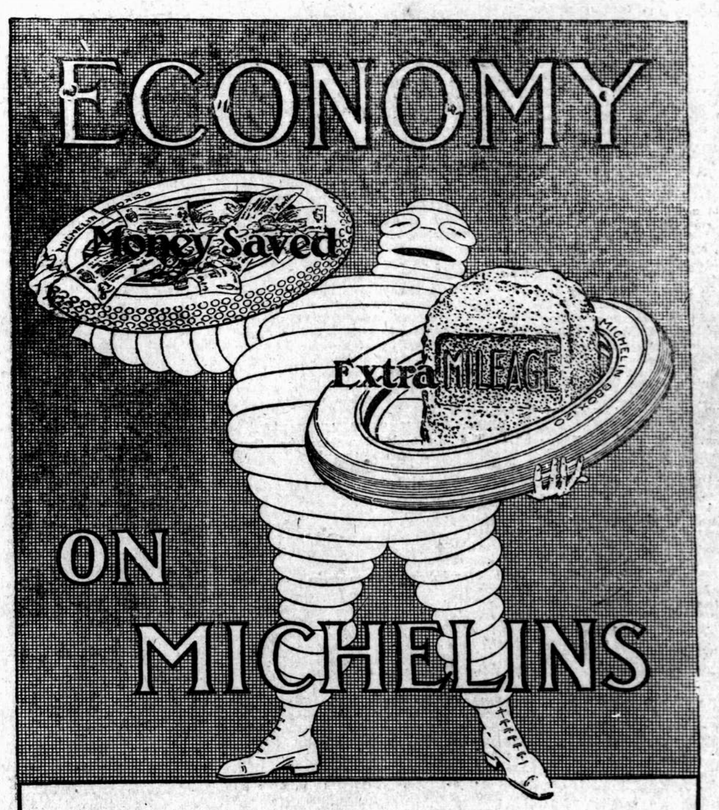

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THE DEPUTATIONS.

(Continued from page 4.)

lic services. The title of Sardar was conferred by Indian rulers on persons who had rendered distinguished military services to the State, and on military Jaghirdars. We beg to submit that such a title hardly compensates the Thakors and Talukdars for the loss of their ancient princely titles and dignities. We beg to request that the ancient princely titles of the Thakors and Talukdars, which were duly conferred and confirmed by previous Governments, and which were officially recognized in the beginning of British Rule, may be again recognized, or an historically appropriate title may be created, and proper political rights may be given them."

The address also stated that the present representation of the Sardars on the Bombay Legislative Council was not adequate and prayed that the privilege of electing two members instead of one may be given them. They also requested that in the Imperial or Federal Parliament of the future there should be adequate representation of the Sardars of Gujerat.

The seventh deputation was from the Mahomedans of the Bombay Presidency. It was headed by Moulvi Refiuddin Ahmed, who read the address, and the other members present were:

The Hon. Allahando Shah, the Hon. Mr. Ghulam Hussein, the Hon. Mr. Peer Buksh, the Hon. Sirdar Syed Ali Edroos, Sardar Meer Muzaffar Husain, Sardar Peer Saheb Amir Saheb Broach, Sir Mahomed Yusuff, Mahomed Sahabuddin, Sardar Meer Mahabubali Khan, Syed Shah Zada Saheb (Belgaum), Kazi Haji Miya (Randher) Surat and Khan Saheb Shah Nawaz Khan.

The eighth deputation was from the Sind Mahomedan Association. It consisted of the Hon. Khan Bahadur Syed Allahando Shah, the Hon. Mr. Gulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Khan Saheb Shah Nawaz Khan.

The next deputation that waited upon H E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India represented the Special Sind Provincial Conference. It consisted of the Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, the Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurgri and Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta.

TAIN ASSOCIATION OF INDIA.

The last deputation yesterday was from the Jain Association of India. It consisted of Mr. Jiwanlal Panalal (President), Rao Bahadur Hirachand Nemchand Javeri, Mr. Manibhai Goculbhai, Mr. Khimji Hirji Kayani; Mr. Gulabchand Devichand Javeri, Mr. Cooverji Anandji, Mr. Luxmichand Jhirya; Mr. Delsukhbhai Vadilal Virchand, and Mr. Ruttonchand Tullockchand.

The memorial presented to H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu Secretary of State for India by the representatives of the Jain Association of India entirely supported and approved the scheme of reforms suggested by the Indian National Congress and Muslim League, as one to be carried out for the immediate requirements of the constitution. The memorial said that in a country of varied population like theirs the interests of the certain important minorities have to be safeguarded without introducing any possible discord in the unity of India. "The Jain community of India is by its faith a distinct entity, and if important minorities are to have representation in the future electoral system, they humbly submit that the claim of the Jain community, whose loyalty has been proved unswerving, will be given a due weight and consideration."

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BOMBAY HOME RULE LEAGUES.

ANNEXURE TO ADDRESS PRESENTED TO MR. MONTAGU.

The following Annexure was submitted along with the Address presented to H. E. the Viceroy and the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu on behalf of the Bombay Home Rule Leagues on Monday:—

It is now acknowledged on all hands that the time has arrived when the goal of British Policy in India must be the introduction of self-government by India of her own affairs, and it is felt that the principle of enabling India to govern herself should take the form of a charter on the lines of the Proclamation of 1858, when the British Crown assumed the government of India. And it must have been observed from our foregoing observations that a radical change is required in the system of administration of this country in the direction of making the Executive responsible ultimately to the people subject to the power of Veto vested in the representatives of the Crown. We shall therefore confine ourselves in this Memorandum to our province as regards the suggestions which we submit should be immediately adopted with a view to reach the desired goal.

PROV. LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1. The best mode of making the Government responsible to the people is by creating a legislative Assembly to which the Executive should be responsible, so that, as and when, the Executive ceases to work in harmony with the wishes of the people as expressed by its representatives in the Assembly the Executive must either give way to the wishes of the representatives of the people in the Provincial Legislative Council or be prepared to make way for another body.

The Executive Government can only be made responsible to the people through a legislative Assembly which ultimately should be a wholly elected body in order that the wishes of the people of the Province shall be reflected in the opinions of that body.

In short, the Provincial Legislative Assembly must be really the fountain-head of all the real power in the Province and except in matters which are dealt with in the Scheme relating to the Imperial Legislative Assembly real provincial autonomy must be attained. This will produce a two-fold advantage, in that each province will progress on its own lines in accordance with its own particular conditions unhampered by the different conditions of any other province.

In the Scheme, as drafted, which we support, the Provincial Legislative Councils are at this stage to consist of four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated members. While fully recognising and supporting the principles stated above, we feel that we can only support, the introduction of the nominated element as a transitional stage because it may be thought desirable that certain interests not adequately represented should be reinforced by nomination of persons who would represent those interests; and also the Executive Government for the time being may deem it essential to secure by nomination expert assistance.

CONSTITUTION OF ASSEMBLY.

2. In order that the Legislative Council may be truly representative of the people of the province and reflect their real opinions, while the number should not be too large, it must be adequate for the purposes in view. It is agreed in the scheme as regard this Province, as between the Mahomedans and the other communities of the elected Indian members, one-third should be Mahomedans. We will later on deal with the electorates by whom those representatives are to be elected.

We suggest that each district in this Presidency should have two representatives on the Council and each town with a population of 50,000 or more up to 100,000 should have one representative; that each town with a population of 100,000 or more up to 300,000 should have two, and that each with a population of 300,000 and more should have five representatives in the Legislative Council.

ELECTION AND FRANCHISE.

3. We are entirely opposed to the idea of any election by particular bodies. We stand for the principle of direct representation, for that we conceive to be the only right principle of election. We oppose any idea of the Provincial Legislative Councils consisting of persons elected by local or other bodies or combinations of them. Local or other bodies are elected with reference to local views, needs and conditions and a man who is efficient from those points of view, would not necessarily take the same view as the people at large on the question of fitness of a person to represent for example a District on the Provincial Legislative Council. And it is not unlikely that if these local bodies, for instance Municipalities or Local Boards, were allowed to elect persons to the Provincial Legislative Council, the local elections would be influenced largely not by local needs and conditions but by the persons whom they might support at the time of the election of the Provincial Legislative Council. It will first defeat the object of having the right men for the administration of the District. It will also prevent the province from having the right men on the Provincial Legislative Council. Such periodical elections directly by the Districts would keep them in touch with the problems of Government arising from time to time, by reason of the discussions of such problems which must inevitably take place when candidates are seeking election, and the very elections themselves will be a source of immense education in the art of government and will serve to raise the tone and the level of the electoral power of the country.

We propose that the two representatives of the District should be elected by the District. Whether the District should be divided into two parts for the purpose or whether the District as a whole should elect both of them is a matter which may be decided when the details are gone into.

We suggest that every person who is qualified, either by reason of payment of revenue assessment, or by reason of his earning a certain amount of wage, or by reason of certain educational qualification, ought to have a vote in these elections. We tentatively suggest in this respect that every person who pays revenue assessment of Rs. 50, or any person who earns a wage which in its aggregate amounts to no less than Rs. 250 a year, every person paying income tax, and, lastly, every person who possesses a School Leaving Certificate either of an Anglo-Vernacular or Vernacular School, should be qualified to vote.

We confidently submit that a Provincial Legislative Council so elected would be truly democratic and that the franchise would be placed on as broad and safe a basis as possible. We further hope that with the spread of education,—which will be more rapid when it is made free and compulsory as we think will be the case, once the new Provincial Legislative Councils come into existence,—larger and larger numbers of the electors of the last class will come into existence and in every way raise the tone and the level of the electorates.

In conclusion we urge that every person who is qualified to be a voter should be qualified to be a candidate for election to the Council, provided he satisfies a certain educational test which would enable him to take part in the deliberations of the Council.

4. The principle of clause 4 of the scheme is acceptable for the reasons mentioned in the clause itself and because in all matters of this nature a wise compromise whereby the interests of important minorities are taken to be adequately represented will never be touched or gone back upon.

As regards this important question of Minority representation, we need only say that we wholly endorse the principle that has been laid down in the Congress-League-Scheme, and accept the proportion of one-third as laid down therein for the representation of the Mahomedan community so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned. The constitution of the electorate, together with other details, can be settled at the proper time; but, of course, we assume that the qualifications for the exercise of the franchise and for candidature for the Legislative Assembly will be the same as those proposed for the general electorates.

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

5. We next urge that the deliberations of the Legislative Assembly should be carried on under the presidentship of a person elected by themselves so that the Council may be guided in its deliberations by no extraneous influence of any kind whatever. The President should be therefore a person whom the Council themselves regard as a fit person to assist, guide and control them in their deliberations. The head of the Provincial Government should not be its President. It is understood that such a head would be nominated by the Crown and would therefore represent the Crown in the Province. In the Scheme of Government as we advocate it, he should be entirely above all those party considerations and party prejudices that must prevail in the legislative Assemblies. As the representative of the Crown he has in him the right of exercising the veto, and as and when the occasion arises for doing so he should be in a position to decide the question, wholly unbiased and unfettered by discussions that have taken place on the measure while it was being discussed in the Council. His not being involved in the controversies and heat of discussion in the Provincial Assembly would serve to uphold his dignity and the dignity of the Crown he represents. His absence from the Council would also be advisable, because if he were in the Council and free to express his opinion, his presence as the representative of the Crown would be likely unduly to restrict the freedom of debate and improperly bias and influence the final judgment which the Council must arrive at on the merits of each question before it. Our suggestion is fully supported by the precedents in the Dominions.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS.

6. Under the sixth head we ask that supplementary questions should not be restricted to members putting the original questions. The reasons in support of that demand are obvious. Firstly, the information required by the question may not be elicited at all in full either by reason of a defect in the form of the question or by other reasons personal to the member putting the original question and once the question is before the House it is difficult to understand why the right of eliciting information thereon should be restricted to the member who first sought it. Not only that but the answer may be satisfactory in so far as it goes to the particular member who put the original question and yet it may require further elucidation in relation to the same question and the reasons therefor may be known to the other members and the importance of them may be understood in a different and sometimes a graver aspect by others than the member who originally put the question. The matter should therefore be determined not by the personality of the individual who initiated the question but on the ground of principle, whether or not members of the Council are not entitled to the fullest information relating to every matter once it has become the subject of a question. This is a right which is exercised we believe by the members of all Legislative Bodies throughout the world and we rely in particular on the precedent of such a right being exercised by the Members of the House of Commons.

POWERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

7. The questions of a liberal franchise and the formation of a really representative assembly in the province with unfettered freedom of discussion have been already dealt with. Now the exact powers of such an assembly, their relation to the executive authority, their control over finance and the principles on which these would be based must be considered.

The separate government of provinces existed in the days of the East India Company in the form of what was called "Presidency Government." This arrangement threatened at one time to be permanent, but military exigencies and administrative difficulties suggested its abandonment and the centralisation of power under a Governor-General-in-Council. In the name and style of the Bombay Presidency and in the fact of the Governor being appointed from England we have survivals of those days. The centralisation at the time of the transference of administration to the Crown in 1858 was as complete as could be. The finances for India were collected in a single treasury and administered by the Government of India through the Finance Member who was appointed from 1861. Under that system no expenditure of any kind could be incurred nor appointments created without the sanction of the Government of India.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

8. Such close centralisation proved very inconvenient as the work of the administration increased in all directions. The financial centralisation gave no incentive to the provincial governments for developing the resources of revenue. Nor did it give them any strong motive for practising economy. If they could only urge their case with some insistence, the Government of India's doles could be made larger. The history of the decentralisation in finance which began in 1870 would be out of place here. But it is full of valuable lessons. The gradual process by which very much against their settled policy and their desire, the Government of India had to part with the control over sources of revenue and heads of expenditure and to reach in 1912 the stage at which provincial finance was placed on a permanent unalterable footing, discloses the extent to which such a system is the only possible working arrangement and completely justifies the suggestion made hereunder for a further and more definite departure in the same direction.

Ever since then there has been a strong body of opinion in favour of further decentralisation. Not only on the side of finance but in actual political development, the different stages of growth and prosperity of different provinces necessitated a different treatment and the Government of India's position as an arbiter is most unsatisfactory. The more backward provinces have been in many respects drags on an advanced province like Bombay. On the political side, after the first flush of national feeling in which the unity of the country was emphasised, the more practicable scheme for repairing the various departments of life was found to be popular administration in the provinces. The province on account of unity of interests,—the legal link through the High Court, a common system of education, leading up to the same University, common system of land tenures, and other common ties, has come to be considered a suitable unit for the development of the country. Hence the centralisation attempted by Lord Curzon through Inspectors-General in various departments was resented, as such administrative centralisation rendered difficult that free development of provincial life towards which the aspirations of the people were running.

The reforms of Lord Morley gave a still further impetus to these ideas of provincial autonomy. The discussions in connection with them brought out this remarkable fact. The provinces were to develop without impairing the ultimate authority of the Parliament. On the one hand, only in the provincial councils could such a large section of popular representatives be introduced and a certain amount of power given to them. The Government of India were still exercising salutary check and satisfying any apprehensions which this experiment caused. On the other hand, that larger training for representative government which would ultimately enable complete autonomy could be begun neither in the local bodies in the mofussil, always under the thumb of the district officer, nor in the Imperial Councils whose short sessions and long distance from most places were serious impediments.

Since that time the aspirations of the people have centered on the idea of provincial autonomy. Most problems for moral and material improvement are distinctly provincial. And in the provinces it is that popular leaders run up most against executive officers. Provincial autonomy has therefore become an essential part of the Congress-League platform. Lord Hardinge's despatch from Delhi in 1911 re provincial autonomy was hailed with enthusiasm. The attempt of the Civil Service to explain it away and the manner in which this was resented by the people would show the direction in which popular Indian opinion is moving and from which reactionary bureaucrats smell danger.

The fruition of these political aspirations could be had only by a final advance in the policy of financial decentralisation which has already proved successful. It is necessary to revise the sources of revenue and items of expenditure at present in charge of the Imperial Government. There are certain heads of revenue which convenience of administration and other considerations mark out as distinctly imperial. Such are customs, salt, opium, military receipts and tributes from native states. There are further, the net receipts from the commercial services, viz. the railways, irrigation, posts and telegraphs, and the mint. Railways in particular already occupy the leading place in the heads of imperial revenue. When the annuities for some of the important lines cease, they will bring a magnificent income to the imperial treasury. It will not be possible now or perhaps at any time in future to administer these departments provincially or separately to appropriate any revenues from them for the provincial budgets. These heads of revenue may therefore be permanently fixed as Imperial. There should be a concurrent declaration that all other sources of revenue should be collected by and should belong to the provincial governments. The reformed elected councils will strengthen the territorial consciousness and will deepen the local interests which exist at the present moment. The only workable arrangement would therefore be to leave all additional sources of income permanently for the future to the provincial administrations.

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RAILWAY TRAFFIC RETURNS.

Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company.

(Incorporated in England)

Comparative Statement of Traffic Earnings for week ending 22nd Dec 1917.

	Total for the week. Rs.	Total to date. Rs.
Approximate Earnings for week ending 22nd Dec. 1917. ..		
G.I.P. Rly	2,142,600	2,48,67,336
A.D.C. Rly	65,000	6,96,380
B.K. Rly	4,500	48,534
C.B. Rly	5,000	59,461
Total	22,17,100	2,56,71,711
Earnings for corresponding 7 days ending 22nd Dec. 1916		
G.I.P. Rly	22,48,879	2,28,25,856
A.D.C. Rly	71,228	6,68,471
B.K. Rly	5,230	31,095
C.B. Rly	7,952	63,450
Total	23,33,239	2,35,84,872
Inc. or Dec. G.I.P. Rly	—1,06,279	+20,41,480
A.D.C. Rly	—6,228	+27,919
B.K. Rly	—730	+17,439
C.B. Rly	—2,952	—3,989

Central Provinces Railways.

	Total for the week. Rs.	Total to date. Rs.
Approximate Earnings for week ending 22nd Dec. 1917	12,200	1,61,566
Earnings for corresponding 7 days ending 22nd Dec. 1916.	14,711	1,63,312
Increase or Decrease	—2,511	—1,747

Dhond Baramati Railway.

	Total for the week. Rs.	Total to date. Rs.
Approximate Earnings for week ending 22nd Dec. 1917.	1,700	18,480
Earnings for corresponding 7 days ending 22nd Dec. 1916.	1,031	14,114
Increase or Decrease	+669	+4,366

NOTE—Corrected with Audited figures upto 31st Oct. 1917

TEMPERATURE IN BOMBAY.

GOVERNMENT OBSERVATORY COLABA.

Bombay, 25th Dec. 1917.

Means of observations taken at 6 a.m., 10 a.m., 2 p.m. 4 p.m., and 10 p.m.

Barometer corrected to 32 deg. Fahr.	29.879 Inches
Temperature of Air	76.3 Deg.
Wet Bulb Thermometer	68.1 "
Dew Point	63.9 "
Relative humidity of Air	0.660 "
Extent of cloudy sky (the whole sky cloudy—10)	0.8 "
Maximum temperature of Air	85.2 "
Minimum do.	70.2 "
General direction of Wind from midnight to midnight	ENE,NW,NNW,NE.
Movement of Wind do do.	145 Miles

SUN, MOON AND TIDES AT BOMBAY.

The following are the hours and height of the tides in Bombay Harbour during the ensuing week. Hour stated in Bombay Mean Time. Depth of water is at Prince's Dock:—

Week	Day	Date	HIGH WATER. Bombay Mean time.	Depth on Sill	LOW WATER. Bombay Mean time.	Depth on Sill
		Dec.	h. m.	ft. in.	h. m.	ft. in.
Wed.	26	m	9 24	25 11	3 58	20 5
		10	44a	28 11	3 37a	15 3
Thur.	27	m	10 18	26 1	4 50	19 11
		11	24a	29 4	4 20a	15 7
Fri.	28	m	11 6	26 3	5 32	19 6
					4 59a	15 7
Sat.	29	m	0 0	29 6	6 10	19 1
		m	11 48	26 4	5 35a	15 10
Sun.	30	m	0 34	29 4	6 46	18 10
			0 57a	26 3	6 9a	16 4
Mon	31	m	7 16	25 10	1 41	21 2
	Jan.		9 2a	27 4	1 59a	16 6
Tues	1	m	1 33	28 6	7 51	18 7
			1 37a	25 9	7 12a	17 7

The following are the hours of sunrise and sunset, according to Indian Standard Time during the ensuing week:—

Dec.	Sunrise.	Sunset
" 26 (Wednesday)	.. 7h 10m.	6h 9m
" 27 (Thursday)	.. 7h 11m	" 6h 9m.
" 28 (Friday)	.. 7h 11m	" 6h 10m.
" 29 (Saturday)	.. 7h 11m	" 6h. 10m.
" 30 (Sunday)	.. 7h 11m.	" 6h. 11m.
" 31 (Monday)	.. 7h 10m.	" 6h. 7m
Jan. 1 (Tuesday)	.. 7h 12a.	" 6h. 12m.

Phases of the Moon:—

		d.	h.	m.
Last Quarter	Jan. 1918.	5	5	19.6 p.m.
New Moon	"	13	4	5 8 a.m.
First Quarter	"	19	8	7 9 p.m.
Full Moon	"	27	8	44 2 a.m.

STANDARD BAROMETER READING.

The following information is published in order that vessels in the Bombay Harbour may by comparison with a standard instrument ascertain the errors of their barometers:—

The reading of the Standard Barometer in the Colaba Observatory corrected for index error and reduced to 80 deg. F. and to the level of the tide at 8-45 a.m. Standard Time, on the 26th December, 1917, was 30.093 Inches. For temperature corrections applicable to mercurial barometer of ships the reading of the ship's barometer has to be increased or decreased by .013 inch for every 5 degrees according as the temperature of the attached thermometer is respectively below or above 80 deg. F. In case of the aneroid no temperature correction is needed. But for comparison at 80 deg. F. all aneroid readings should be increased by .138 inch. For correcting the ship's barometer either mercurial or aneroid for the height of the barometer cistern above the tide level in the stream at 8-45 a.m., Standard Time, the ship's barometer reading should be increased by .010 inch for every 10 feet of the height to make it comparable with the observatory barometer reading given.

THE WEATHER.

SIMLA, Dec. 26.

Conditions are somewhat disturbed along North-west Frontier and south-west of Andamans. Weather has been dry except for one and a half inches at Port Blair and light fall at Drosh.

Forecast:—New falls along the North West Frontier.

DAILY WEATHER REPORT.

The following is a summary of observations recorded at 8 hours on Wednesday, the 26th December, 1917, giving data for the preceding 24 hours.

The Punjab.—Skies are moderately clouded in the south-west Punjab and at Lahore and clear elsewhere. The air is damper than usual in the extreme north. Night temperature is in excess at Multan and Ambala.

The United Provinces.—Skies are clear. Humidity is normal or in defect. Day temperature has risen and is now in excess at most stations.

Sind and Rajputana.—Skies are lightly clouded in upper Sind and clear elsewhere. Humidity is normal or in excess. Day temperature has become normal; night temperature is in excess in west Rajputana.

Gujarat, Kathiawar and Central India West.—Skies are generally clear. Humidity is normal or in excess.

The Central Provinces.—Skies are clear. Humidity is normal or in defect.

The Konkan.—Skies are lightly clouded. The air is drier than usual at Ratnagiri.

The Bombay Deccan and Hyderabad.—Skies are clear in the north Bombay Deccan and lightly clouded elsewhere. Humidity is normal or in defect. Night temperature continues generally in defect.

General Remarks.—The disturbance which gave rainfall in the Persian area yesterday appears to be advancing eastwards and cloud has increased in north-west India.

Some showers are likely in Baluchistan.

OBSERVATIONS TAKEN at 8, a m. on WEDNESDAY, the 26th of December 1917.

STATIONS.	Temp. in Shade. Maximum of past 24 hours.	Temp. in Shade. Minimum of past 24 hours.	Humidity. 8 A. M.	Rainfall. Last 24 hours.	Rainfall. Total 1st Nov. to date.	Departure 1st Nov. to date.
PERSIAN GULF—						
Bushire ..						
Do. (25th Dec.) ..	69.5	52.0	85	0.45	0.95	—3.15
Jask						
do. (25th Dec.) ..	71.5	57.7	93	0.24	2.37	+0.99
Muskat						
Do. (25th Dec.) ..	73.0	65.9	70	..	0	—0.85
PUNJAB—						
Multan	72.2	49.1	74	..	0	—0.20
Rawalpindi	64.9	34.1	90	..	3.58	+2.64
Lahore	70.9	42.8	91	..	0.01	—0.35
Hissar	72.4	41.9	83	..	0.18	..
Ambala	69.7	48.3	82	..	0.69	+0.06
Delhi	71.8	49.8	67	..	0.19	—0.31
UNITED PROVINCES—						
Agra	74.3	49.5	51	..	0.06	—0.24
Mainpuri	74.7	47.9	65	..	0.04	—0.44
Jhansi	78.8	48.3	68	..	0	—0.32
Cawnpore	77.0	50.9	67	..	0.40	—0.04
Allahabad	75.6	49.2	64	..	0.39	—0.18
SIND AND RAJPUTANA						
Jacobabad	74.7	45.4	68	..	0.02	—0.17
Karachi	77.9	59.4	72	..	0	—0.14
Ajmer	75.0	45.6	84	..	0	—0.39
Jaipore	79.5	45.1	63	..	0	—0.32
Kotah	79.6	50.8	57	..	0	—0.31
Mount Abu	68.6	53.4	43	..	0	—0.33
GUJARAT, KATHIAWAR AND CENTRAL INDIA						
WEST—						
Bhuj	82.0	50.7	46	..	0	—0.15
Dwarka	83.0	61.9	80	..	0	—0.06
Veraval	85.0	59.8	49	..	0	—0.26
Rajkot	84.1	48.0	52	..	0	—0.28
Bhavnagar Para ..	85.8	53.8	74	..	0	—0.21
Surat	87.9	57.2	55	..	0	—0.14
Ahmedabad	87.6	50.9	43	..	0	—0.19
Deesa	87.0	52.5	58	..	0	—0.15
Neemuch	79.1	47.6	56	..	0	—0.28
Indore	81.6	49.1	69	..	0	—0.50
CENTRAL PROVINCES—						
Jubbulpore	77.5	48.8	73	..	0.96	+0.27
Nagpur	80.6	51.6	53	..	0	—0.88
Hoshangabad	81.5	47.8	66	..	0	—0.88
Khandwa	84.7	49.8	50	..	0	—0.70
Akola	85.8	47.9	48	..	0	—1.00
Amraoti	84.2	58.8	35	..	0	—0.98
Nagpur	83.4	52.2	52	..	0	—1.19
Chanda	83.1	47.4	83	..	0	—1.00
Raipur	81.5	52.1	55	..	0	—0.68
KONKAN—						
Bombay	87.9	68.6	74	..	0	—0.45
Ratnagiri	88.9	67.1	27	..	0.98	+0.44
Marmugao	81.3	64.9	81	..	5.95	+4.83
Karwar	88.2	63.9	87	..	1.10	—0.72
BOMBAY DECCAN AND HYDERABAD—						
Malegaon	?	46.8	48	..	1.40	+0.83
Ahmednagar	80.1	46.8	51	..	1.14	+0.23
Poona	81.8	48.9	50	..	3.65	+2.65
Sholapur	84.2	55.4	38	..	0.54	—0.80
Bijapur	80.7	50.8	53	..	1.07	—0.07
Belgaum	80.5	53.2	62	..	4.61	+2.85
Aurangabad	83.1	51.0	44	..	0.38	—0.35
Nizamabad (Indur) ..	82.4	47.7	68	..	0	—0.68
Hyderabad	80.2	52.8	77	..	1.49	+0.44
MALABAR AND CEYLON						
Bangalore	87.2	70.2	64	..	2.39	—0.76
Calicut	86.8	71.4	88	..	7.22	+1.51
Cochin	88.5	72.7	73	..	13.54	+6.09
Colombo	84.2	71.4	90	..	15.34	—1.77
MADRAS (EXCLUDING MALABAR) AND MYSORE—						
Masulipatam	82.8	67.0	92	..	11.29	+5.34
Bellary	84.7	58.5	59	..	2.14	+0.07
Cuddapah	84.4	58.1	76	..	4.11	—0.65
Madras	80.8	64.6	76	..	12.09	—2.38
Bangalore	81.3	53.8	60	..	3.49	—1.88
Coimbatore	86.0	59.8	51	..	6.45	+2.38
Trichinopoly	87.5	65.2	68	..	5.67	—1.53
Negapatam	80.3	67.6	81	..	33.60	—8.14

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(Registered under the Indian Companies' Act VI of 1882 on 21st December).

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TREACHER'S FINAL MEETING.

SHAREHOLDERS GET RS, 850 PER SHARE.

The final meeting of the shareholders of Messrs. Treacher and Co., Ld., (in liquidation) was held at Umrigar Building, Ormiston Road, Apollo Bunder, on Saturday.

On Mr. A. E. Dalal proposing and Mr. N. N. Saher seconding, Mr. B. H. Warden was voted to the chair.

The Chairman in his speech said, "When I came here I thought I had to put before you the proposition of accounts only, but now I have been entrusted with another proposition. Mr. S. N. Guzder, the Liquidator, has found a purchaser who has offered Rs. 4,000 to purchase the Company"s remaining outstandings. If this offer is accepted by us, Rs. 4,000 more will be distributed to the shareholders. As for the outstandings there are several items of bad debts, the principal of which is that of the Maharaja of Idar. Many of the outstandings are of very small amounts. The Liquidater was unable to collect these outstandings, and no purchaser came forward to buy the same. I for one, therefore would advise you to accept the offer, for which I propose as under.

"That the offer for the purchase of the Company's remaining outstandings by Mr K. M. Suntoke for Rs. 4,600 be accepted and the Liquidator authorised to carry out such sale."

The proposition was seconded by Mr. C. Vernon and supported by Mr. B. D. Allbless, and on being put to the vote was unanimously carried.

The Chairman then said, "I have now to put before you a very important proposition, and you will all concur with me that Mr. Guzder ought to be congratulated for this very satisfactory result. I therefore propose that:—

"The accounts of Messrs. Treacher and Co., Ld. (in voluntary liquidation) submitted by the Liquidator, from the 1st April 1916 to the 12th August 1916, and from 12th August 1916 to to 3rd November 1917, and from 3rd November 1917 to 22nd December 1917, showing the manner in which the winding-up of the Company has been conducted and its property disposed of, be and is hereby approved and accepted, that the Liequidator be and is hereby discharged from his office, and that the Company's Seal, as also the Books of Account, Vouchers and Documents of the Company and of the Liquidator thereof now in the possession of the Liquidator, be destroyed by the Liquidator three months after the date on which the Liquidator files with the Registrar of Companies a return of the holding of this meeting as required by Section 217 of the Indian Companies' Act of 1913."

This proposition was seconded by Mr. Vernon, and on being put to the vote was carried unanimously.

Mr. Vernon then proposed that "Out of the balance of Rs. 51,047-13-4 a final distribution at the rate of Rs. 25 per share be paid to the shareholders (on 15th January 1918) which will absorb Rs. 50,000 leaving a balance of Rs. 1,047-13-4 in the hands of the Liquidator which after meeting contingencies be paid by the Liquidator to the Women's Branch of War Fund after the liquidation proceedings are completed."

Mr. S. E. Warden duly seconded the proposition.

position to the vote said, "Before we appposition to the vote said "Before we appointed Mr. Guzder as Liquidator many of us thought that we would realise Rs. 500 only, and there were some who believed that Rs. 600 would be the utmost sum they would realize. But Mr. Guzder has succeeded in paying us altogether a very substantial sum of Rs. 850 in all per share. We are wholly indebted to Mr. Guzder for these excellent results. He has been striving for the last 7 years and working quite disinterestedly on behalf of the shareholders. We are also indebted to him for the handsome distribution which he has been able to pay. I must not forget the services of Dr. Master, and Messrs. Rustomji Kooka, Hiraji Kolah (solicitor) and Ardeshar Dalal. Mr. Kolah not only gave his advice free of charge, but whenever the Committee wanted to consult him they were given immediate attention. We are particularly indebted to Mr. Guzder for realizing the bad debts which stood at a very high figure. I also draw your attention to the names of the shareholders who have not applied for their dividends. Their names are Messrs. Manecekji Framji Lakdawala, Derby Fred, Bevis Ethel Maud and Dr. Vithal Vishnu Gokhale. Should you, gentlemen, happen to know them kindly communicate their whereabouts to Mr. Guzder."

The Chairman then put the proposition to vote, which was then passed unanimously.

Mr. Ardeshar Dalal then proposed a vote of thanks to the chair and the meetings then dispersed.

BHATIAS IN CONFERENCE.

PLEA FOR MORE WIDER EDUCATION.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

The fourth Sessions of the All-India Bhatia Conference met here yesterday and to-day under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Kalianji Morarji of Central Provinces. About 300 people attended.

The presidential address dwelt chiefly on educational and social questions affecting the Bhatia community. The president said that education of boys and girls of their community must be the first item in their programme of work. Bhatias should send their sons to foreign foreign countries and axord facilities to their graduates and under-graduates for training in firms, mills and other industrial concerns. The problem of advancement in commerce industries and manufactures was matter which if any community was competent to solve with success the Bhatias community community was fit to do it. He condemned child-marriage and advocated widow-remarriage. Resolution were passed to-day in favour of sea voyage, widow-remarriage, female education, industrial education for Bhatia boys and condemning child-marriage.

"A WORK OF CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMANSHIP."

PATRIKA ON MISSION OF THIS YEAR'S CONGRESS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 26.

A sum of Rs. 20,000 has been raised by the sale of the Congress Reception Committee and other tickets.

In the course of a lengthy article the "Amrita Mazar Patrika" says the Congress had hitherto met at the call of the country only. It had hitherto met to oppose the official policy, the principal work being to criticise acts and policy of the Government. That was more or less destructive work, but this year it meets not to consider the way best to oppose official policy but how best to help it to fulfil itself. Its work now is a work of constructive statesmanship. It meets this year at the call of the Empire.

NADWATUL ULAM.

NAGPUR, Dec. 24.

The next session of the Nadwatul Ulma of Lucknow will be held at Nagpur in the Easter holidays. Last year Justice Abdul-Rahim was the president of the Reception committee, when its sessions took place at Madras. The Nadwa-tul is, a great seat of learning of Islamic religion at Lucknow. The late Allama Shibli Nomani was one of its founders. It consists of progressive party of Islamini learned men. The Central Provinces and Berar Musalmans are working hard for its success.

MUNICIPAL REFORM IN MOFUSSIL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CHRONICLE."

Sir,—I shall thank you if you will give these few lines room in your valuable paper. It is very desirable that the Rate Payers and the Municipal Councillor in the District should follow the instructions which appeared in your valuable issue of the 17th instant under the heading of "Municipal Reform Association, Bombay" It is most important for the mofussil as the proceedings of the Meeting and administration of business at the Municipality do not appear in any newspaper regularly nor is it incumbent on Councillors under the District Municipal Act to give publication of the proceedings of each meeting etc. I have every hope that the Rate Payers will take necessary steps to keep them in touch with Municipal Board and if possible with the administration under the District Local Board Act.—Yours etc.,

A RATE PAYER.

18th December, 1917.

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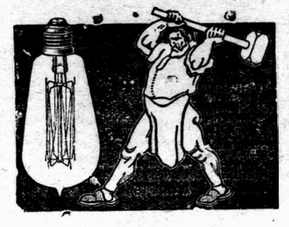

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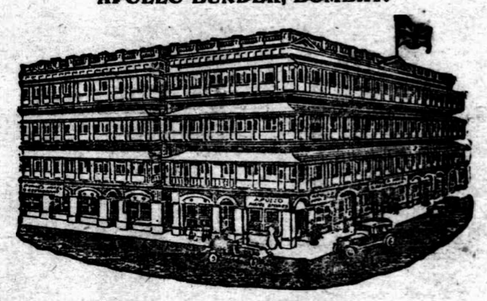

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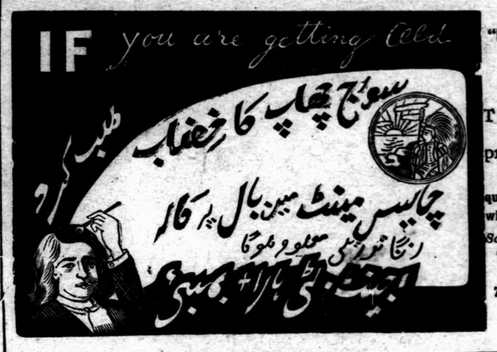

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No Magneto, No Batteries, No Wires,

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The Simplest Engine on the market Will work on any oil—Kerosene, Crude Distillate or Fuel oil. No extra expenses for water Tanks. It is the cheapest the simplest and the Best. Ask for the free Booklet. Only 5 and 7 H.P. in stock for prompt delivery.

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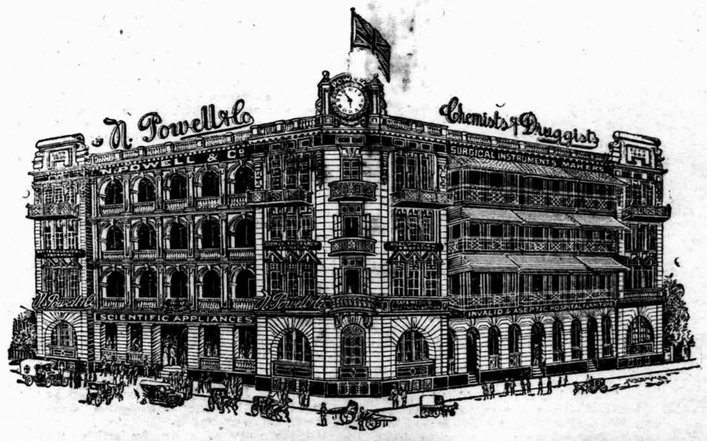
ARTIFICIAL LIMBS

(OUR PIONEER INDUSTRY IN INDIA.)

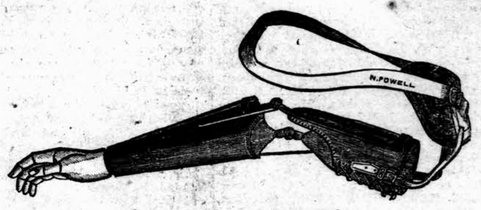
A WORD ABOUT OURSELVES.

It is well known that we are the pioneers of this line of Industry and first to start in India. We have made rapid progress and improvement in the line and the fact that we have brough it up-to-date is evident from the gold medals awarded for the perfections of our productions not only in India but at the International Exhibition, Paris.



ANNOUNCEMENT.

Each of our announcements carries with it a personal message to you, telling with all sincerity and earnestness, the adaptability of our Artificial Limbs, Deformity Appliances, of their lightness, comfort experienced when worn, and the conscientious care with which they are prepared. This care is supplemented by **SKILL, EXPERIENCE** and **FACILITIES** that have united to produce them.



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DEAR SIRS,

With the greatest pleasure I write these few lines to say that you have modified my leg that I ordered out from Grossmith, Limb Makers, London, which I gave you for modifying.

After the modification you have done, I find it very comfortable to wear.

I now give you another order for a leg of your make since I am quite pleased with the alterations you have done.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) GEO. ABBOTT, (JHANSI.)

11th July 1910.

This to certify that the artificial hand manufactured and supplied to me by Messrs. N. POWELL & Co., is entirely to my satisfaction, being light, comfortable and natural in appearance.

I can confidently recommend Messrs. N. POWELL & Co. to any one requiring their services in this line and I think that their firm should be far more widely known.

Wishing them the success they deserve.

(Sd.) H. F. OWEN,
B. I. S. N. Co., BOMBAY.

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N. POWELL & Co.,

Artificial Limb Manufacturers,

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